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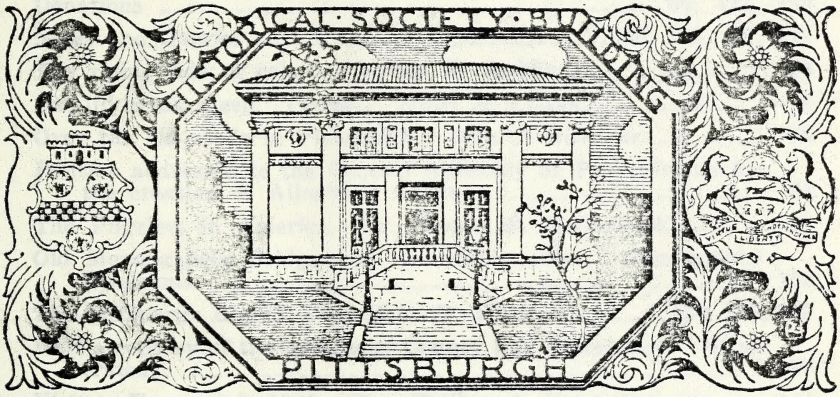
WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

VOLUME 4 1921

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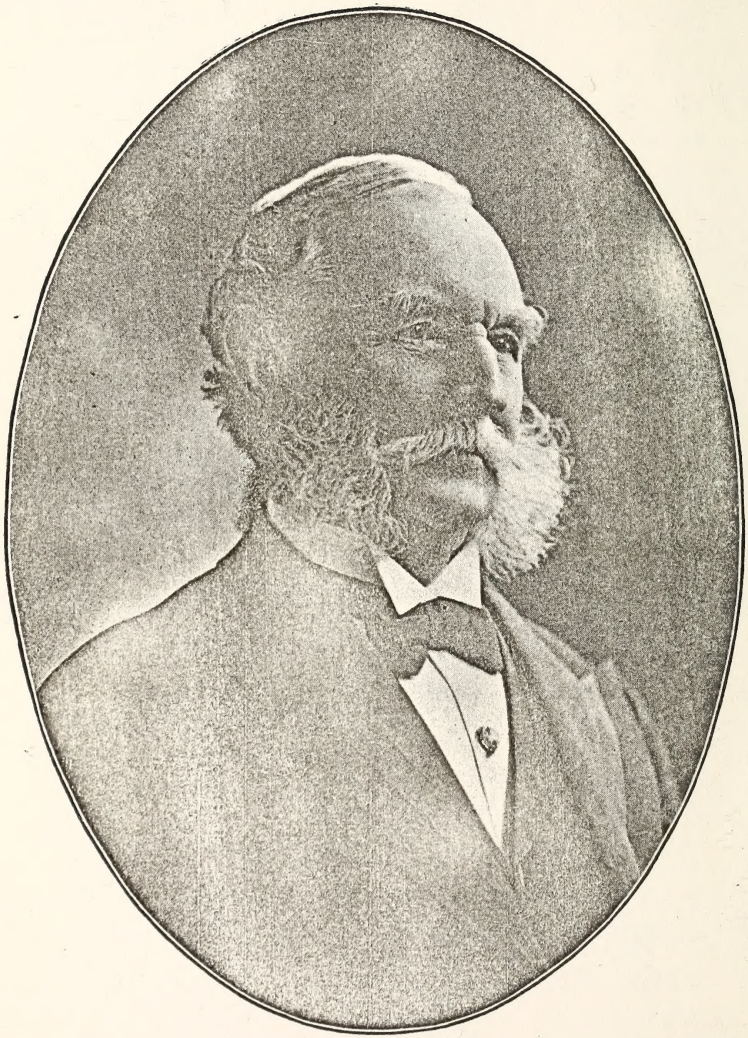

DAVID C. HERBST
One of the Founders of the Republican Party

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 9 No. 1 JANUARY, 1921 Price 75 Cents

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ORIGINATED IN PITTSBURGH

By

CHARLES W. DAHLINGER

That the Republican party, as a national organization, was formed in Pittsburgh is undisputable. It is, however, known to few, even in Pittsburgh, that the Republican party itself was conceived in this city. There has been considerable controversy as to where and when the Republican party as a local organization had its birth. It is generally believed that the party came into existence shortly after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill on May 30, 1854, and Ripon, Wisconsin claims the honor of organizing a party under the name Republican soon after that date. The people of Jackson, Michigan, maintain that at the state convention which they held on July 6, 1854, this name was first used to designate the party organized to prevent the extension of slavery. A number of other widely separated communities present the same claim. All these assumptions are clearly erroneous, and to Pittsburgh must be given the credit of being the place where the Republican party originated, having been organized there under that name in 1852. The writer

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THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

of this article frankly confesses that he was not aware of this important fact until it was called to his attention by William McConway, a valued member of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, after the appearance in the October, 1920, number of this magazine of the story of, "Abraham Lincoln in Pittsburgh, and the Birth of the Republican Party."

The founding of the Republican party in Pittsburgh was the result of the Presidential election of 1852. The so-called compromise measures which bear the name of Henry Clay, which were enacted in 1850, were claimed to settle the existing differences between those in favor of slavery and those opposed to it. Under these laws California was admitted as a free state; and the laws provided governments for the remaining territory acquired from Mexico, giving to those governments legislative power over "all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the constitution of the United States", and the provisions of the act creating them. The slave trade was prohibited in the District of Columbia, and a new fugitive slave law was enacted which provided officers of the United States for its execution.

The two predominent parties, the Whig and Democratic parties accepted the compromise as final. The Whig national convention of 1852 declared that it was a "settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace," and deprecated all further agitation of the question of slavery as "dangerous to our peace"; and the convention nominated General Winfield Scott as its candidate for President. The Democrats declared their purpose to "abide by, and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures settled by the last Congress." Their candidate for President was General Franklin Pierce. But all over the North there were men who would not agree that the question of the extension of slavery had been settled. They met in national convention in Masonic Hall, Pittsburgh, on August 11, 1852, under the name of the "Free Soil Democrats," and nominated John P. Hale for President. In 1848 they had demanded the prohibition of the extension of slavery into free territory, now their platform declared "slavery to be a

sin against God, and a crime against man, which no human enactment nor usage can make right"; and "that Christianity, humanity, and patriotism alike demand its abolition," and it called for the "immediate repeal of the fugitive slave law". The slave power mistrusted the Whig party, notwithstanding the declarations in its platform, and went to its old and tried friend, the Democratic party, and Scott was overwhelmingly defeated and Pierce elected. The Free Soil Democracy met with a defeat still more ignominious than that of the Whigs. It had shown less strength than in 1848, its extreme radicalism on the question of slavery having lost it many supporters, who while sincerely opposed to the extension of slavery, had not yet advanced to the stage where they believed in its abolition, and the vote of the party shrank from 291,000 in 1848 to 156,000 in 1852. The Anti-Masonic party had dwindled into insignificance, and the strength of the remaining political parties was so trifling from a national point of view that they were hardly worth considering. The result of the election was to place the Democrats in absolute control of the national government. They had the President and a large majority of both houses of Congress. The party was completely dominated by the pro-slavery element.

The Whigs of Allegheny County were stunned. The county had given Scott 9615 votes, to 7226 cast for Pierce. They could attribute the repudiation of their candidate by the country at large to only one cause, namely the defection of the Southern Whigs, because of their fear that Scott's success would mean loss of prestige to the cause of slavery; and the party was torn into fragments. The Democratic *Daily Pittsburgh Post* referred to it as "the late Whig party." (1) The views of the Whigs on public questions were now widely at variance and there was no way of bringing about harmony. There were, however, men of vision in Pittsburgh who realizing that the Whig party was dead, decided that nothing remained but to organize an entirely new party; and this was done within a few weeks after the Presidential election.

On July 6, 1904, the Republicans of Jackson, Michigan, celebrated, what they termed the semi-centennial of the organization of the Republican party. Col. John Hay, the Secretary of State, was the principal orator, and the news-

papers all over the country contained accounts of the event. The news of the celebration awakened old memories in David C. Herbst, a prominent business man of Pittsburgh, a member of the well known oil refining firm of Warden and Oxnard, and caused him to dispute the claim of Jackson to being the place where the Republican party originated. In a communication to the *Pittsburgh Gazette* published in its issue of July 25, 1904, he shows that Pittsburgh is entitled to this honor, and that the party was organized and named in the grocery store conducted by him when quite a young man, in the three-story brick house which stood at the northwesterly corner of Third Street, now Third Avenue and Cherry Alley, the ground being at present covered by a portion of the two-story brick annex to the United States Government building. In 1852 the premises were owned by Alexander Miller, and were in 1877 conveyed by his descendants to the United States. At the celebration of the "Golden Jubilee of the Republican Party" in Philadelphia on June 17, 18 and 19, 1906, Mr. Herbst made an address (2) in which he repeated his account of the origin of the Republican party and elaborated some of the details related in his letter to the *Pittsburgh Gazette.*

Mr. Herbst's grocery store was located in the Second Ward, for several generations known as the South Ward. It comprised the territory between Diamond Alley now Diamond Street, and the Monongahela River, and Wood and Try streets. It was the only ward in the city, where according to Mr. Herbst, "the citizens took an active part in politics outside of the days of election." And with the exception of three persons who either lived in the adjoining First Ward, or had their places of business there, the men who inaugurated the movement for the organization of the new party were all residents of the Second Ward.

Mr. Herbst's store was the social center of the district, where the leading men of the vicinity gathered after the cares of business had been laid aside. But on a certain winter night in 1852, shortly before the midwinter holidays, when the power which the pro-slavery Democracy had acquired in the Presidential election was fully realized, they came together for something other than social enjoyment. They met in deadly earnest determined to carry out the

design which the passing events was developing in their minds. The room was small, the building itself measuring only about twenty seven feet square, and for lack of space and better accommodations, the men sat upon nail kegs, boxes, flour barrels, the counters, or clustered around the warm stove. All shades of political opinion were represented. There were Whigs, Democrats, Abolitionists, Free Soilers, Washingtonians. Among them were a number who were active in politics. Their object was to formulate a basis for a new political party upon which all the factions opposed to the pro-slavery Democracy might unite for the accomplishment of its overthrow.

The persons who were associated with Mr. Herbst in the conference were far-sighted and full of resolution, and had either succeeded, or were succeeding in the various pursuits in which they were engaged. William J. Howard was United States pension agent, whom the Whigs and Anti-Masons had elected mayor of the city in 1845, and who was defeated for that office when again a candidate in 1846. Robert Rodgers was a member of the firm of Howard and Rodgers, coppersmiths and sheet iron workers, and Rees C. Fleeson was one of the editors and proprietors of the *Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch*, his partner, Col. J. Heron Foster, being at the time the Free Soil candidate for mayor. John J. Roggen was one of the proprietors of the Pittsburgh Novelty Works, manufacturers of hardware, and in politics was styled the "self-made mechanic"; he had been the Whig candidate for mayor the year before. James Dunlop was an attorney, and the author of a digest of the laws of Pennsylvania which had already run through two editions and was to be republished in future years. Charles Naylor was also an attorney, who originally hailed from Philadelphia where he was admitted to the bar in 1828, and had been a member of Congress from 1837 to 1841. He had commanded a company of volunteers in the Mexican War, known as the Philadelphia Rangers. Coming to Pittsburgh after the close of the war, he had been admitted to the bar of Allegheny County on May 4, 1849, on motion of James Dunlop. Another attorney was Gilbert L. B. Fetterman. Jacob W. Cook was a broker, and George Wilson of a tobacconist. James W. Baxter was one of the

owners of a spice mill. John McD. Crossan was proprietor of the Monongahela House. Minas Tindle was a partner in the firm of Tindle and Company, who conducted a furniture store; David N. White was proprietor and editor of the *Pittsburgh Daily Gazette*; Reuben Miller, Jr., was engaged in various enterprises, being at once a wholesale grocer, an iron founder and a steamboat owner; and William C. Robinson was of Robinson and Minis, founders and engine builders. John McCu dy was an associate of James Park, Jr., in the business of dealing in tin plate and queensware; and Richard F. Smyth was a partner in Kay and Company, booksellers and stationers. James W. Woodwell was a furniture manufacturer. Robert M. Riddle was editor of the *Pittsburgh Commercial Journal*, who early the next year was to be elected mayor by the Whigs and Anti-Masons, and had just been nominated by the Whig convention as its candidate for that office. His candidacy was already being enlivened by the rhyming comments of the *Daily Pittsburgh Post*:

"Sing hey diddle, diddle!
Hurrah for Bob Riddle!
The man for the workingmen he!
He smiles in their faces
With all his best graces
As friendly as friendly can be
But when fortunes frown
And the *wages come down*
And labor is trodden in dust,
The proud 'upper ten'
Claim the *Journal* man then
And ever he's true to the trust."

Subsequent meetings were held in the little grocery store and others participated and aided in the movement, as soon as the purpose became known, notably Thomas Steel, the alderman of the Second Ward. Nor did the cold blasts and heavy snows of that severe winter deter the lovers of right from attending the conferences, or chill their ardor. The conglomeration of political opinions caused many sharp debates; oftentimes a dissolution was threatened. The representatives of each particular party desired something which

would be recognized as peculiar to his organization. The Abolitionists wanted some direct reference to the abolition of slavery; the Free Soilers asked support for the Free Soil idea. Fleeson was willing to forego his opinions for the sake of harmony; Steel asserted that unless something was said in favor of the Washingtonians he would withdraw.

The selection of a name presented an almost insurmountable obstacle and threatened to break up the gatherings a number of times, and one night it became necessary to lock the doors, in order that the meeting might be kept together; and that night a decision was reached. The debate had been particularly acrimonious, when Captain Naylor rose in a quiet way, and with a smile and a wave of his hand, commanded, "Peace!"

A hush fell on those in attendance, and after a moment's hesitation, Naylor continued quoting:

"What's in a name? That which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet."

He proceeded, urging the necessity of concluding the work for which they had met, and added, "Our country is a great Republic; why not name the new party 'Republican', without prefix or suffix?"

Captain Naylor had struck a popular chord; an agreement was reached, every one was satisfied, the name was adopted and the first step in a great work was accomplished; and this was the conception of the new party.

And the gatherings in Mr. Herbst's grocery store grew constantly in numbers; and the name Republican became known outside of the little group who originated it; and while the disintegration of the Whig party as a national organization went on, men began calling themselves Republicans, and the flag of Republicanism was carried into other counties of Pennsylvania. When the Kansas-Nebraska bill was enacted into a law, the Republicans became an army. Nor did the sudden rise of the Know Nothing party deter these men in their efforts for concentrated action. Then in 1855, David N. White sent out his calls to the Republicans, (4) asking them to meet and organize the scattered units into fighting forces, not only in Allegheny County, but in the state of Pennsylvania as well. The National Convention of February 22, 1856, followed, and the Republican party of the United States was launched. That the party

was also born in other places is beyond question, and Ripon and Jackson and the other places are no doubt entitled to share in this honor, but as the Pittsburgh meetings antedated all the others, in the words of Mr. Herbst "The parentage is certainly in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania" (5).

There may be certain individuals who doubt that the Republican party originated in Pittsburgh in 1852, claiming that after the lapse of more than half a century Mr. Herbst's memory may have been at fault, and that the meetings in his grocery store were held at a later date. To these persons it can only be said that a careful investigation of many of the statements made by Mr. Herbst in this matter, shows that he was correct in every particular. He gives the names of the men at the conferences even to the middle initials; also the names of the concerns with which they were connected, or the pursuits in which they were engaged. He must have had written data supporting his narrative, and have prepared his *Pittsburgh Gazette* article and made his Philadelphia address, with a full knowledge of the facts.

In Pennsylvania the Native American party had its inception in December, 1843, when a meeting was held in Philadelphia at which an "American Republican Association", as the units of the Native American party were called, was organized. Other associations soon sprang up in almost every ward, and township in Philadelphia. Captain Naylor who suggested the name for the party organized in Mr. Herbst's grocery store, had gained great popularity in Philadelphia during the Native American riots in that city, in 1844, the story of which is told at length in Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, (6). There had been a month of rioting; many persons were killed; several Roman Catholic churches and two convent schools were burned. On July 6th, an immense crowd had gathered about the Roman Catholic Church on Queen Street intent on securing the arms, supplied by the state, which had been taken there. The Sheriff of the county with a possé was present to preserve order. Several companies of militia with three field pieces came upon the scene. The soldiers were taunted by the crowd who dared them to fire; stones are said to have been thrown at them. General Cadwallader, the commander of the militia, gave orders to fire, and one of the field pieces

was leveled at the crowd. Captain Naylor was a member of the Sheriff's possé and hearing the order, rushed forward in front of the canon and shouted, No! Don't fire! Don't fire!

The cannon was not fired and the lives of many innocent women and children as well as men were saved. But Naylor was arrested by order of General Cadwallader and under guard was taken into the church. He was now the hero of the hour. The next day the crowd, greatly augmented, and having obtained arms and even a cannon, returned to the church, broke down the door, and compelled the soldiers quartered there to release Naylor. He was received by his liberators with the wildest demonstration of enthusiasm. From the steps of the church he made a speech, entreating the people to keep the peace and retire to their homes. He was then escorted in triumph to his residence by the multitude.

This experience had no doubt fixed the word Republican indelibly in Naylor's mind. He was an orator, and his speech in Congress against President VanBuren's plan for an Independent United States Treasury had gained him lasting fame (7). That he was highly esteemed in Pittsburgh, is apparent from the laudatory notices which appeared in both the *Pittsburgh Gazette* and the *Daily Commercial Journal* of November 15, 1852, on the occasion of his visit to Philadelphia in the early part of that month. It was therefore natural that Naylor would assume the leadership at the meeting in the grocery store, and suggest the name which had been burned in his memory by his experiences in Philadelphia. That this was in his mind is apparent when it is recalled, that he declared that the designation of the new party was to be without prefix or suffix, both a prefix and a suffix being part of the name of the American Republican Associations. It should also be remembered that the name must have been well known to the others present at the conference, as it was that of the party of Jefferson, and for the further reason that an American Republican Association had been in existence in Pittsburgh since August 5, 1844, of which George H. Thurston, a well known Pittsburgher, was secretary.

Captain Naylor was a near neighbor of Mr. Herbst, residing on Third Street directly across Cherry Alley from Mr. Herbst's grocery store, where he also had his office,

lawyers in Pittsburgh then having their offices in their dwellings. In his *Pittsburgh Gazette* article Mr. Herbst relates interesting details regarding Captain Naylor and the company which he took into the Mexican War.

"The company was known as the 'Killers and Bouncers' and was composed of the roughest element of the Quaker City. It was this element that during the Native American riots in Philadelphia set fire to and burned the Roman Catholic churches and convents. The people of Philadelphia equipped them and sent them to fight the Mexicans. Captain Naylor was one of the few men willing to take this organization into the war. When they arrived in Pittsburgh *en-route* to Mexico it was found necessary to await transportation to New Orleans. They were placed in barracks provided in the large Christy warehouse situated on Water Street, a short distance above Cherry Alley. The first night of their stay there they broke out and for awhile made 'a rough house' of Pittsburgh. Captain Naylor, whose quarters were in the Pittsburgh Hotel, located at the corner of Wood and Third streets, was soon on the ground and with his drawn sword drove his men back into their barracks. One soldier resisted and attempted to take away Captain Naylor's sword. The Captain gave him a cut in the face with his weapon, which necessitated the man being given into the care of the surgeon. Captain Naylor brought only a few of his men back from Mexico; the others died in battle fighting bravely for their country."

After residing in Pittsburgh for a few years, Captain Naylor returned to Philadelphia where he died on December 24, 1872, at the age of sixty six years. Mr. Herbst died on June 8, 1907, aged eighty years.

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THE LINCOLNS OF FAYETTE COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

BY JOHN S. RITENOUR

I

THE LINCOLN GENEALOGY

Mordecai Lincoln, who settled in North Union township, Fayette county, Pa., about four miles from Uniontown, in the year 1792, and who died and is buried there, was a brother of John Lincoln, the greatgrandfather of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.

The researches of historical writers since the Civil War have revealed with reasonable fullness and unquestionable accuracy the Lincoln family history, from the departure of Samuel Lincoln, a weaver, aged 18 years, from the town of Hingham, England, about 1637, down to the time of President Lincoln. The president himself knew practically nothing of the history of his own family, and, great a figure as he was in the eye of the world after 1860, he had the moral courage to admit this in the following extract from a letter written to a friend, J. W. Fell:

"My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham county, Va., to Kentucky, about 1781-2, where a year or two later he was killed by Indians. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks county, Pa. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of christian names in both families such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham and the like. My father at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education."

Since the death of the president, the pedigree of the main branch of the Lincoln family has been so clearly established that no one who wishes to learn about it need remain ignorant. But there has been little or no inquiry into the collateral branches; for the sufficient reason, of course, that all the interest has been naturally centered in the direct line from which the president sprung.

The Lincolns of Fayette county had always believed

themselves to be of the same tribe as the president, the belief being based on the knowledge that their progenitor, Mordecai Lincoln, came from Berks county, Pa., from whence migrated also the Lincolns of Virginia and Kentucky. Investigation has shown the belief to be entirely sound and to justify the statement in the introductory paragraph of this paper.

II

SAMUEL LINCOLN

Now, to begin at the beginning. The root of the Lincoln family tree in this country—the particular tree that flowered in the presidency of the United States—was Samuel Lincoln, of Hingham, England, who emigrated to and settled in Salem, Mass., in 1637, when he was 18 years of age. The Lincoln name is of Norman origin. Samuel had been preceded four years to this country by his brother Thomas. The maiden name of Samuel Lincoln's wife was Martha, but her family name has never been ascertained.

Samuel and Martha Lincoln had ten children, the fourth being Mordecai I., born June 14, 1657. This son became a blacksmith, learning his trade of Abraham Jones, of Hull, Mass., whose daughter, Sarah, he married. He died in 1727. His grave is in the cemetery at North Scituate, Mass.

Mordecai I and Sarah Jones Lincoln had four children, the first of whom was Mordecai II, born April 24, 1686. Two more children, Elizabeth and Jacob, were born to Mordecai Lincoln I by a second wife whose name is unknown.

III

MORDECAI LINCOLN II

Mordecai Lincoln II, born in 1686, emigrated from Massachusetts to Freehold, Monmouth county, New Jersey, where he bought land in 1720, and where he married Hannah Salter before 1714. Later he settled in Berks county, Pa., (then Philadelphia county.) He made his will Feb. 22, 1735, and of course died between that date and June 7, 1736, when the will was proved. The name Lincoln is spelled in the will both "Lincon" and "Linkon." It is signed "Mordecai Lincon." The posthumous son of which the testator writes as

expected was born in due time and received the name of Abraham.

Following is a copy of the will:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I, Mordecai Lincon, of Amity, in the county of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania, being sick and weak in body, but of sound mind and memory, do make this, my last will and testament, in manner and form following, revoking and hereby disannulling and making void all other and former wills and testaments by me made, whether in word or writing; allowing this to be my last will and testament, and no other.

Imprimis.—It is my mind that in the first place my just debts be honestly paid.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my son Thomas Linkon the half of my land situate in Amity and to his heirs and assigns forever.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my son Thomas Linkon, his heirs and assigns forever, the one-half of my land in Amity aforesaid, with this proviso—that if my present wife Mary should prove with child at my decease, and bring forth a son, I order that the said land be divided into three equal parts, and that Mordecai shall have the lowermost or southeast part, and Thomas the middle most, and the posthumous the upper most.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my daughters Hannah and Mary a certain piece of land at Matjaponia, all ready settled on them by a deed of gift.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my son John Lincon a certain piece of land lying in the Jerseys, containing three hundred acres, and to his heirs and assigns forever.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my two daughters Ann and Sarah and to their heirs and assigns forever one hundred acres of land lying in Matjaponia, which land I do order my executrix, hereinafter named, to sell, and divide the money between them.

And I do hereby further order and appoint that if any one or more of my children above named should happen to die before they arrive to their full age, then such share or shares shall be equally divided amongst the following children:

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my beloved wife Mary all the residue or remainder of my estate, goods, chattels, quick and dead, to be at her disposal and liberty, to remain on my plantation at Amity until these, my children, are at their several ages; the better to enable my wife to bring up all my children without wasting or embezzling what I have left them.

And I do hereby nominate and appoint my wife Mary Lincon my whole and sole executrix of this my last will and testament, and my loving friends and neighbors, Jonathan Robison and George Boone, trustees to assist my executrix in seeing this will and testament well and truly performed according to the true intent and meaning thereof

The within named Mordecai Lincon did sign, publish, pronounce and declare that this present writing was his last will and testament the 22nd day of February, A. D., 1735.

MORDECAI LINCON (seal)

In the presence of us,
Israel Robeson,
Solomon Cole,
John Bell.

Letters testamentary were granted to the widow, "Mary Lincon," by P. T. Evans, register general, Philadelphia, June 7, 1736. The appraisers who subsequently made an inventory of the effects styled the deceased, "Mordecai Lincoln, Gentleman."

IV

CHILDREN OF MORDECAI II

So, according to the will, the children of Mordecai Lincoln II, were Mordecai III, who came to Fayette County, Thomas, Hannah, Mary, John, Ann, Sarah and Abraham, eight in number, all of whom clearly appear to have been minors when the will was written.

It is known that Abraham was the youngest child, John was probably the eldest, since he was born in New Jersey and came to Berks County with his parents. The others may have been born in the order named in the will, but this

is merely an inference, and may be entirely inaccurate, since John, the eldest, is the fifth named in that instrument.

The words of the will, "my present wife Mary," imply that she was not Hannah Salter, first wife of the testator, and this was the fact. Mordecai Lincoln II married a second time, in Berks County, but the dates of this marriage and of the death of his first wife are unknown; nor is anything known, so far as the writer has information, of the family name of the second wife. John was the son of the first wife and Abraham of the second. That much is definite enough. The maternal parentage of the other six children is pretty much a matter of conjecture as between the two wives. Ann Lincoln married a man named Tallman.

Coffin's "Life of Lincoln" says Mordecai Lincoln II was married in Massachusetts before going to New Jersey; also that his son John was born in Massachusetts, and accompanied him to New Jersey. The accuracy of these statements is doubtful. If, however, they are to be accepted as facts, then Mordecai Lincoln was married three times, twice before he was 28 years old. But under present knowledge it is wise to discard altogether the ideas of a Massachusetts marriage. There is no record of it to be found; indeed, no record even of the christian or family name of the alleged Massachusetts wife. Lincoln had married Hannah Salter at Freehold, N. J., not later than 1714, as shown by a will, of date that year, made by Capt. John Bowne, bequeathing to his niece, Hannah Salter Lincoln, 250 pounds. But the will of Mordecai Lincoln, made in 1735, when he was 49 years old, positively indicates, as already shown, that at that time all of his children were minors. The date of this will, 1735, is 21 years after his marriage to Hannah Salter, as fixed by the will of Major Bowne. This would carry the birth of John Lincoln back to about 1714. It is probable he was approximating his twenty first year when his father died.

Mr. Coffin further states that Ann and Sarah Lincoln were the children of Hannah Salter, which there is no occasion to doubt.

Hannah Salter was the daughter of Richard Bowne Salter. Her father was a lawyer, judge and member of the provincial assembly.

The Berks County land that Mordecai Lincoln purchased became vested in him in 1730, and from this fact one would naturally argue that 1730 fixes the time of his removal from New Jersey; but it is not conclusive.

V

THE ESTATE

The property that Mordecai II divided among his three sons, Mordecai III, Thomas, and his posthumous son, Abraham, consisted of 1,000 acres of land on the east bank of the Schuylkill River, in Exeter Township, near Reading. This was a Quaker community, known as the Oley settlement. The Boones lived here, and the George Boone appointed as one of the trustees by the will of Mordecai II, was an uncle of the celebrated Daniel Boone.

Among the 76 taxables in Exeter Township in 1741, says "Rupp's History of Berks and Lebanon Counties," were Mordecai Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln, William Boone, Benjamin Boone, Joseph Boone and John Boone. George Boone, a native of England, took out a warrant in 1718 for 400 acres of land in Oley township, then in Philadelphia County. Exeter township was erected December 7, 1841. It was originally the south part of Oley township. The township line enclosed about 13,500 acres. The survey was made by George Boone.

The London Company consisting of Tobias Collett, Daniel Quair and Henry Goldney, took up a tract of 1,000 acres on the east side of the Schuylkill River. The warrant was signed October 18, 1716. William Penn in 1699 had granted to this company 60,000 acres in Pennsylvania. The 1,000 acres referred to were taken in part thereof, and on November 9, 1717, the patent was issued. In February, 1718, the company granted their right to Andrew Robeson, then of Roxbury township, Philadelphia County. This tract became vested in Mordecai Lincoln II in May, 1730, and he devised it to his sons, Mordecai and Thomas, and his posthumous son, Abraham.

VI

THE LINCOLNS AND BOONES

I trust the reader will pardon a brief digression here for the purpose of showing the intimate relationship between the Boone and Lincoln families. There were frequent inter marriages between them. The first of the Boones was George Boone, from Bradwinch, near Exeter, Devonshire, England, who appears to have come over about 1717. He probably gave the name Exeter to the place where he located. He was a member of the Society of Friends, dying in 1740, aged 78 years.

William Boone, grandson of the first George Boone, married Sarah Lincoln in 1748. This Sarah was likely the daughter of Mordecai II. Squire Boone, also a son of the elder Boone, was the father of Daniel Boone, who was his fourth son and sixth child. Daniel was born in this township of Exeter, October 22, 1734. He died at Charette, Mo., September 26, 1820, having lived nearly four score and ten years.

Squire Boone was one of the trustees of the Oley meeting in 1736, proving his status in the Quaker church at that time. But in 1748 he was disowned for countenancing the marriage of his son to a woman who was not a Quaker. Not long after this he went to North Carolina, where he settled at Holoman Ford, on the Yadkin River. It was from this place that Daniel Boone went over into Kentucky and entered upon the career which made him famous.

John Lincoln and Squire Boone are supposed to have left Berks county together, with their families, about the year 1750, going south. At that time there was an extensive migration to the south from eastern Pennsylvania. John Lincoln settled in Rockingham County, Virginia, where many of his descendants still reside. His son Abraham, as stated in the letter of the president to Mr. Fell, emigrated from there to Kentucky. Abraham's son Thomas was the father of the president, who was born in Hardin County, Kentucky in 1809, three years before the death of Mordecai Lincoln III, in Fayette County in 1812.

The Boones seem to have been all Quakers. While some of the Lincolns were also Quakers, it appears that some of

them were not. This is shown by the fact that Ann Boone, who married Abraham Lincoln, was dealt with by the Exeter monthly meeting in 1761 for marrying out of the church, which she acknowledged. This Ann Boone was the daughter of James Boone and a woman named Foulke. She was the cousin of Daniel Boone.

Her husband, Abraham Lincoln, was the posthumous son of Mordecai II, and brother of Mordecai III. He died in 1806, aged 70 years; the year of his birth, 1736, was also the year of his father Mordecai's death. He became quite prominent in the politics of Berks County. For six years, from 1773 to 1779, he held the office of County Commissioner. In 1783 he was elected to the General Assembly. He had also been a Justice of the Peace.

The Lincolns who now reside in Berks County are the descendants of Thomas and Abraham Lincoln, the sons of Mordecai II, who remained there.

Another prominent family in Berks County, neighbors of the Lincolns, was the Hanks family, some of whom if not all left there at the same time, about 1750, that the migratory spirit was awakened in the bosoms of the Boones, Lincolns and others. Nancy Hanks, mother of the president, was a descendant of this Berks County family, but all attempts to obtain anything like an accurate genealogical record of her ancestors have thus far been fruitless.

David L. Lincoln of Birdsboro, Berks County, in a letter written in 1883 stated that John Hanks had accompanied the Lincolns who went to Fayette County, and that from there he went on southward. This is the extent of our information as to the presence of any of the Hanks family in Fayette County, and it may be entirely inaccurate, probably is. Mordecai Lincoln did not leave Berks County until more than thirty years after the migration of his brother John, about 1750, and it was more than forty years later before he finally settled in Fayette County.

VII

OLEY, AMITY AND EXETER

The townships of Oley, Amity and Exeter, with which the name of Lincoln is so closely linked, all lie contiguous,

and were mainly settled by Quakers and Swedes. In the early records of all three of these the name of Lincoln appears. These townships antedate the erection of Berks County, which was created out of Philadelphia, Lancaster and Chester counties in 1752. As already stated, Mordecai II, died in May, 1736, and it is likely was buried in the Quaker settlement in Oley, the meeting house and burial grounds of which are within the present limits of Exeter Township, but the inscriptions on many of the tombstones are wholly obliterated, and the grave of Mordecai Lincoln, if there at all, is indistinguishable from any of the others.

The old meeting-house still stands, and it is one of the landmarks of Berks County. It is one mile from the present village of Stonerville, and about ten miles from Reading. It is a plain brown stone building, still in serviceable condition, and still in service, despite it has weathered the storms of more than 150 years. It was built on an acre of ground bought by George Boone from Thomas Penn, and the same day transferred by Boone to trustees for purposes of a Quaker house of worship.

Among the books in the Berks County court house are some which contain the names of the taxpayers of each township during and after the period of the Revolutionary war, showing that the assessments to raise money to meet the expenses of the war were heavy. In 1781 Mordecai, John, Benjamin and Thomas Lincoln are named among the taxpayers of Exeter Township. These were Mordecai III., his brother Thomas, and his sons John and Benjamin.

A writer in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* of July 8, 1891, says at that date there was an Abraham Lincoln living in Caernarvon township, Lancaster county, about 14 miles from Reading. He was over 80 years of age, and had spent his entire life on the farm on which he was living. In general appearance he was not unlike the martyred president, having the same large, erect, gaunt form, and retaining to a remarkable degree many of the notable physical characteristics of the Lincoln tribe as disclosed in the personality of the president.

VIII

MORDECAI LINCOLN III

There is no data now at hand to show precisely the date when Mordecai III left Berks county, but it is known that he was for a time, how long is not known, a resident of Dauphin county, Pa., before finally settling in Fayette county. The Dauphin county records disclose that on April 23, 1791, John Harris, gentleman, of Harrisburg, sold for 33 pounds to Mordecai Lincoln, inn-keeper, of Hummelstown, lot No. 11, on Chestnut street, Harrisburg, containing about one quarter of an acre. A deed of same date as above conveys the same property from Mordecai and Mary Lincoln to George Reddick for 306 pounds, gold and silver, "together with the houses, kitchens, barns, stables and buildings." The property must have been an inn. Mordecai Lincoln signs his own name to the deed, but his wife Mary was unable to write, since her name is accompanied with the sign of "her X mark."

That Mordecai Lincoln had lived for several years in Dauphin county before removing to Fayette county is clear from the figures of a deed by which, after he had settled in Fayette county, he disposed of his Dauphin county property. This deed, dated May 17, 1794, "between Mordecai Lincoln, of Union township, in the county of Fayette, and State of Pennsylvania, yeoman, and Mary, his wife, of the one part, and Valentine Hummel, of Derry township, in the county of Dauphin, State aforesaid, inn keeper," witnesseth, &c., that for 500 pounds, have sold to said Hummel a lot of ground in Derry township, in a town called Fredericktown, being lot No. 13, and bought by Mordecai Lincoln from Peter Friedly and wife Jan. 4, 1787. "Signed, sealed and delivered," says the deed, "in the presence of Benjamin Lincoln and John Jones, the day and year above mentioned." The acknowledgment is May 5, 1795, "before James Finley, one of the judges of the court of common pleas of Fayette county."

The last record we have of the presence of Mordecai III in Berks county is in the statement that he was a taxpayer in 1781. We have seen that he had bought property in Dauphin county in 1787, so his emigration from Berks county must have been between 1781 and 1787.

The Fredericktown referred to in the deed to Valentine Hummel is now known as Hummelstown, a post-borough of about 1,000 population, nine miles east of Harrisburg. It was laid out by Frederick Hummel in 1762.

IX

IN FAYETTE COUNTY

Mordecai Lincoln was accompanied to Fayette county in 1791 or 1792 by his wife Mary, his two sons, Benjamin his first and John his second; his two daughters, Nancy (Ann) and Sarah, and their husbands, Jacob Giger and John Jones. Unfortunately nothing more is known about his wife than that her name was Mary, and that she was an invalid during the last 30 years of her life. They were married in Berks county, and buried two daughters, Hannah, and another whose name is unknown, before leaving that county. Hannah Lincoln was born in 1761. She and her sister both died young and unmarried.

Four miles from Uniontown, in what is now North Union Township, Lincoln bought a tract of land, called "Discord," from Isaac Pearce, the patentee. It contained 320¾ acres and allowance, and the price paid was 500 pounds. In addition to this he procured a patent from the commonwealth for another tract of land called "Union Green," containing probably 200 or 250 acres. The two combined comprised all or nearly all the land now owned and occupied by John and Elizabeth Canon, the late John Jones and John Hankins. Lincoln built the old part of the house in which Elizabeth Canon lived later.

Of the personality of Mordecai Lincoln, his mental and physical traits, we know only through tradition; and the information transmitted in this way is as scant as it is unsatisfying. No one living ever saw or talked to him. He was sixty years of age when he settled in Fayette County, a tall, strong, vigorous, large-boned, angular old man, having all the distinguishing facial and physical characteristics of the Lincoln blood—prominent nose and ears, suggestive of a dominating mentality and generous disposition; heavy, overhanging eyebrows and sturdy chin. He was prudent, industrious, law-abiding, and notably methodical in the busi-

ness affairs of every-day life. These are among the elements of good citizenship. His love of order and system is disclosed in the manner in which he kept his "Family Book," which is still in the possession of the Jones family. He carefully kept accounts with all of his children, and made everything even between them in his will. The following extract from his book enumerates the number and value of the articles with which he dowered his daughter Sarah when she married John Jones:

Given to my daughter Sarah	lbs.	s.	d
One case of Drawers	6	10	0
One dining table	3		
One tea table	2	5	0
One bed and bed clothes	10		
One cow	5		
One pot and one kettel	0	16	6
One tea kettel	0	15	0
A half dozen knives and forks		5	6
One saddel	5	0	0
One skimmer, ladel and flesh fork		6	6
One tub		7	6
To cash	1	5	0
To frying pan	0	6	10
To pewter	1	10	0
	37	7	10
To 2 cows	7	0	0
To 3 sheep	1	2	6
	45	10	4

The late John Jones related the following incident which he had heard his grandfather, Mordecai Lincoln, often tell. It is given to illustrate the natural feeling of resentment that follows imputation of one's veracity and to show that the Lincoln family entertained a praiseworthy pride in their reputation for truthfulness. Abraham Lincoln, the young brother of Mordecai, was the one most concerned in this incident, which occurred in Berks County. Abraham had been a witness in a case in court. During the course of the argument to the jury his veracity was attacked by the opposing counsel, which angered him deeply. After the trial he accosted the attorney, saying:

"How much would it cost to knock a lawyer down?"

"Twenty dollars," was the reply.

Lincoln laid him out on the floor with a single blow, and taking from his pocket a twenty dollar note spread it across his breast and left the court room.

IX

THE WILL OF MORDECAI LINCOLN

Mordecai Lincoln died in March, 1812, and was buried on his farm. His wife died just two years later, in March, 1814. The property on which the burial ground is located was later owned by his grandson, William Jones, and later owned and occupied by John and Elizabeth Canon, his great grandchildren. Following is a copy, *verbatim et literatim*, of the will of Mordecai Lincoln, as taken from the records of Fayette County.

Upon the twenty-second day of February in the year of our Lord Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, I Mordecai Lincoln, Sr., of Union Township, Fayette County and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania being far advanced in years but of sound mind and memory do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament, revoking all other will or wills heretofore by me made.

1th. I Recommend my soul unto Almighty God who gave It and my body to dust its original, thare to be Interd in decent maner by my Representatives.

2dly of those Wordly Goods which it has pleased God to Endow me with I leave and Bequeath In the following manner Twt.

3dly I leave and unto my Son Benjamin Lincoln the sum of one dollar to be paid by my Daughter Sarah Jones in one year after my Deceace.

Item—4thly, I Also leave and bequeath unto my son John Lincoln six pounds annually of Interest Drawn from a bond I have on my son Benjamin Lincoln Until said Bond becomes Due from and after my Deceace.

Item—5th I leave and bequeath unto Mary Lincoln wife of my son John the Residue Interest on said Bond untill it becomes Due after such monies is taken out of said Bond as shall appear a legal Compensation for the services of my Executors During their Executorship and the Interest of the Residue to be aplyed for the use and support of her five youngest children twt John, Nancy, Iaferty, paterson & abby, and the afore said bond I require to be put into the hands of my Executors and when it becomes Due I devise the One third part of said

bond unto my son John Lincoln to be paid him in the space of one year after said Bond becomes due. Also I devise the third part of said Bond unto Mary Lincoln wife of my son John to be paid in manner and form aforesaid. I also devise and bequeath the Residue or other third part of said bond unto the five youngest Children of my son John Lincoln whose names are heretofore recited or the surviving part of them when they arive to age and in case of the death of any of them to be Equally divided amongst the Survivors to be paid in maner and form as aforesaid.

Item 6th—I leave and bequeath unto my daughter Nancy Giger one dollar to be paid by my daughter Sarah Jones in addition to what I have heretofore paid to my daughter Nancy to be paid to her after my decease.

Item 7th—I also devise and bequeath unto my daughter Sarah Jones all the uses and profits of the tract of land she now lives upon, to be held and enjoyed by her for eight years from and after this date, but if myself and my wife Mary should live until after the expiration of eight years in such case my daughter Sarah Jones is to enjoy all the profits and benefits of said tract until our decease, and at my and my wife's decease my daughter Sarah is to be at the expense of our interment and all other expenses to carry this will into execution and at my decease I also leave to my daughter Sarah all the movable property I may be possessed at my death.

Item 8th—I also leave and bequeath unto my grandson William Jones all the above tract of land to take into possession at the expiration of the term granted to my daughter Sarah Jones, or after my decease to be held and enjoyed by him, his heirs and assigns forever, his paying out thereof unto my grandson John Jones the sum of one hundred pounds when the said John arrives at the age of twenty-two years.

I now hereby constitute William Swearingen my executor of all this my will and testament revoking all will or wills heretofore by me made, in testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this Twenty-second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eleven.

MORDECAI LINCOLN (Seal)

Signed, sealed in the presence of us.

SAMUEL MCCLEAN,
SAMUEL SMITH

X

THE FAMILY OF BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Benjamin Lincoln was born in Berks County, October 29, 1756. He died October 6, 1821. His wife was Elizabeth Orvis. She died December 29, 1846, aged 80 years. Both

lie in the family graveyard in North Union township. Their children in the order of birth were: Thomas, Nancy, Abraham, Sarah, Mary, Hannah, Mordecai, Elizabeth and Phoebe.

Thomas Lincoln married Mary Henshaw and died in Carmichaels, Greene County, where their son, Thomas L. Lincoln, lived later.

Nancy married Daniel Woodmancy, and their daughter Rhoda married first Gabriel Lennon and second Henry Zearing.

Abraham Lincoln married Patti Cole. Their children were all daughters. There is no trace of them now. Abraham died in Uniontown; when, not known.

Sarah Lincoln married James Russell, and they settled in Ohio, leaving, so far as I have been able to learn, no trace behind them.

Mary Lincoln married James Hagan, and they too went to Ohio, disappearing as completely as the Russells.

Hannah Lincoln, who was born February 19, 1795 and died in Uniontown, February 10, 1889, married Isaac L. Hunt on June 5, 1819. Their children were Jacob, Benjamin Lincoln, Daniel, Isaac L., Mordecai Lincoln, Sarah, Thomas Lincoln and William.

Elizabeth Lincoln married James Junk.

Phoebe Lincoln married Henry Yeagley. The Hunts, Junks and Yeagleys, were all well known in and about Uniontown.

Mordecai Lincoln married Jane Hewitt. He died October 2, 1851, aged 50 years, and his wife died August 3, 1873, in her 68th year. Their daughter Nancy died June 15th, 1865, aged 29 years. Another daughter, Phoebe A., died February 5, 1852, aged three days.

XI

THE FAMILY OF JOHN LINCOLN

John Lincoln was born in Berks County, March 28, 1758. The date of his death is not known. His body lies in the family burial ground. His wife was Mary Lafferty, of Philadelphia. Their children, not in the order of birth, were Mordecai, William, Jesse, Abigail, Hannah, Jemima, Mary (Polly,) Sarah, John, Nancy, Lafferty, Patterson, and Abigail

again, the latter born after the death of her elder sister. Of some of these children we know little, and of others much.

Mordecai Lincoln went to Ohio where he died. He never married.

Jesse Lincoln, who died in Uniontown December 18, 1869, aged 82 years, married Hannah Jones, who died in Uniontown June 17, 1877, aged 83 years. The 11 children of Jesse and Hannah Lincoln were Lafferty, Mary, David, Margaret, John, Benjamin, Phoebe, Richard S., Martha, Amanda and Samuel. Phoebe Lincoln married Philip Bogardus.

Abigail Lincoln the elder was never married. She was killed by the falling limb of a tree April 5, 1807, aged 17 years.

Hannah Lincoln married John P. Sturgis, and one of their children is Hon. Geo. C. Sturgiss of Morgantown, W. Va.

Jemima Lincoln married John Oldshue, and one of their children was the late Lincoln Oldshue, an eminent physician of Pittsburgh.

Mary (Polly) Lincoln married Jacob Springer. They had no issue.

Sarah Lincoln married David Downey Shaw, and they had nine children.

Of John Lincoln we have no record. He married, but had no family.

Nancy (Ann) Lincoln, who was born October 18, 1802, married James Ralston on December 25, 1828. She was his second wife. They took up their abode near Ashland, Ohio, where John Ralston was born on December 8th, 1829. Their children are scattered throughout Ohio, West Virginia, Texas, Indiana, Colorado and other states.

Lafferty Lincoln married Margaret Hedden, of Upper Middletown, Pa. One of their sons is named Daniel Boone, thus commemorating the early ties of relationship between the Boone and Lincoln families.

John Lincoln married Tillie Aldridge, and they settled in Kentucky, where he died without issue.

William Lincoln, who was the ninth child of John Lincoln, was born October 11th, 1790, in North Union Township, near the present dwelling of the late John Jones. He left Fayette County to serve his country during the war of 1812. After this war he lived for a while in Kentucky, removing

later to New York, where he finally settled at West Constable, Franklin County. There he raised his family and there he died. His wife, Amy Briggs, died in 1867, aged 77 years.

XII

THE JONES FAMILY

Sarah Lincoln, who married John Jones, both coming from Berks county with Mordecai Lincoln, was born in Berks county, February 25, 1767, and died Jan. 25, 1838. Her husband died in May 1802, aged 40 years. Their children were Mary, William, Eleanor, Nancy and John.

XIII

THE GIGER FAMILY

The descendants of Nancy (Ann) Giger—some spell the name Kiger—appear to be pretty well scattered and lost. Mrs. Giger was born November 22, 1769. Her body was interred on her father's farm. Her husband's name was Jacob. Both came to Fayette County with Mordecai Lincoln. They had eight children, viz: John, Henry, William, Lewis, Charles, Thomas, Polly and Sarah. The latter married Samuel Shull in Uniontown about 1810, and one of their children was Henry Giger Shull, who died in April, 1889, at Galion, O. A son of the latter, M. L. Shull, was later a Justice of the Peace and police magistrate at Longmont, Colorado. These are all the particulars of the Gigers I have been able to glean.

Both Benjamin and John Lincoln lie with their father in the old grave yard on the North Union Township farm.

So far as I know there are but few lineal male descendants of Mordecai Lincoln living now in Fayette County. One of these is Sherman Lincoln of Uniontown. Of indirect descendants there are enough to fill all the pages of this journal.

For much of the information incorporated in these papers I am indebted to Charles Carleton Coffins, "History of Abraham Lincoln;" the memory of the late Miss Mary Jane Shaw of Uniontown; to the assistance of William Hunt and H. L. Robinson of Uniontown; and to the valuable investigations of Howard M. Jenkins, of Philadelphia, into the early history of Berks County.

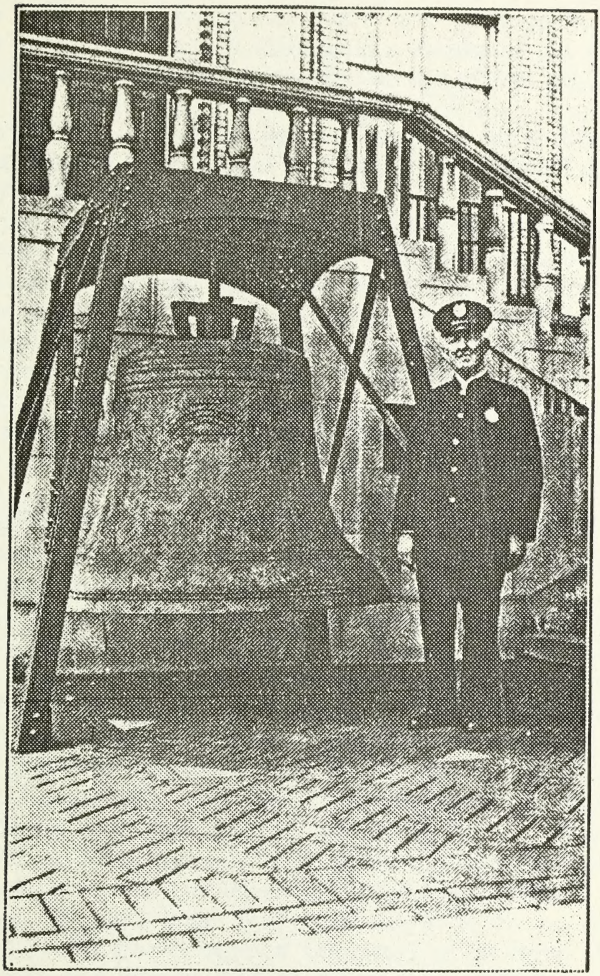
INSTALLATION OF THE OLD CITY HALL BELL IN FRONT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING

The old Pittsburgh city hall fire alarm bell was formally installed on the premises of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania at the organization's meeting on Tuesday evening, Oct. 26th. The meeting was the largest the Society has held since the close of the World War. The bell, which was cast in 1866 by A. Fulton and Sons under the personal supervision of Andrew Fulton, the founder of the firm, was taken down some months ago from the tower of the old city hall on Smithfield Street and presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania by the City Council of Pittsburgh and the Allegheny County Commissioners. It was removed to its present location in front of the Society's building and mounted in an iron frame by the John Eichleay Jr. Company without cost to the Society.

William H. Stevenson, the president of the Society, who occupied the chair, presented as the first speaker at the meeting John S. Herron, president of the City Council, who voiced the interest of that body in the Society and promised further cooperation. Next there was read a most interesting history of the bell prepared by Major William H. Davis, director of Public health of Pittsburgh, which is published herewith.

Ex-Mayor Andrew Fulton, of Pittsburgh, a grandson of the man who superintended the casting of the bell, told of the circumstances attending that event. He said the bell was the largest ever cast in Pittsburgh and larger than the Liberty Bell, and that it was the last work of his grandfather, who died shortly after performing it. He also, on behalf of members of the Fulton family presented to the Society a picture of his grandfather, and a medal given him by the Pennsylvania Agriculture Society in 1835, for casting the finest chime of bells.

Addresses and remarks were also made by Marcus Rauh, president and Thomas A. Dunn, director of the Chamber of Commerce, of Pittsburgh, Walter Eichleay,



The old Pittsburgh Fire Bell in its new home in front of the Historical Society Building

Thomas J. Hawkins, chief city assessor of Pittsburgh, Gen. A. J. Logan, Miles S. Humphreys, former chief of the fire department, Major Robert M. Ewing, Charles W. Houston, George T. Fleming, Benjamin Thaw, and Thomas E. Jones.

On motion of Omar S. Decker the thanks of the Society were extended to the Fulton family for the gift of relics. On motion of Gen. Logan the Society's thanks were also tendered to the John Eichleay Jr. Company for moving and erecting the bell. On motion of John E. Potter the following was unanimously adopted.

"Resolved that the members of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania express their appreciation of the kindness, courtesy and patriotism shown by the Council of the City of Pittsburgh and the Board of Commissioners of Allegheny County in donating the Old Fire Bell to the Historical Society. Such action will mean much to future generations in perpetuating the memory of the achievements of the forefathers. The Society hereby formally accepts the bell and agrees to properly care for the same."

MAJOR WILLIAM H. DAVIS' STORY OF THE BELL.

The "Big Bell", made in Pittsburgh, by Pittsburgh men, for Pittsburgh, is the first and only public bell ever owned by the city. The county of Allegheny once owned a public bell. It was secured for the first court house which stood in the Diamond. When the court house was built on Grant Street it was hung in the lantern which surmounted the dome of that building. Beneath it was the inscription, "The First Public Bell Hung West of the Alleghany Mountains." When fire destroyed the court house the bell fell with the dome and that is the last that is known of it. When the debris was removed some months after the fire, the bell was gone, doubtless into the hands of some junk dealer. As a public bell its usefulness had gone many years previously for the city had grown beyond the reach of its tone. Other bells, larger and louder, had been hung on churches, school houses, and fire company houses, and its existence had been practically forgotten.

The growth of the City in the 60's of the last century, forced a movement for the reorganization of the fire department and this led to the hanging of the "Big Bell". The days

of the volunteer firemen were passing. Their's had been a long and honorable service but changing conditions demanded new methods and the coming of a paid fire department was certain in a short time. The alarm that sounded from an engine house bell was no longer sufficient and the exactness of the electric alarm system with fixed stations was demanded by public sentiment.

The area of Pittsburgh was then little more than that of the original town laid out by Wood and Vickroy. The city limits had been extended to the top of Minersville hill, out Fifth Avenue to Riceville, and out Penn Avenue to the eastern limit of the Northern Liberties. The annexation of the Oakland, East Liberty, Lawrenceville, and the South Side districts was yet to come, and there were but ten wards when the city authorities decided to install an electric alarm system with the "Big Bell" as its central feature. The work devolved upon a committee from Councils made up of W. R. Brown, of the Wayne Iron Works, who represented the 4th Ward in Select Council; W. N. Ogden, a glass manufacturer who represented the 2nd Ward in Common Council, and J. H. Hare, who kept Hare's Hotel, a noted hostelry on Liberty Avenue, who represented the 4th Ward in Common Council.

In 1866, the year the bell was cast, the firm of A. Fulton & Co. stood pre-eminent as bell founders in the United States. It was an old house, formed in 1828 when Andrew Fulton and Hugh Gallagher became associated in the business. Their plant went down in the fire of 1845. Mr. Fulton at once resumed business as A. Fulton & Co. with a foundry on First Avenue and Chancery Lane, the building extending through to Second Avenue. Incidentally, the old house under the name of the Chaplin-Fulton Manufacturing Company still exists in Pittsburgh with members of the Fulton family in control.

Andrew Fulton retired from active business in 1864, his son and a nephew succeeding him. He took an intense interest in the proposed bell. His handiwork hung in the steeples of churches, in the towers of fire houses, and in the cupolas of school houses all over the country but he had never made as big a bell as Pittsburgh wanted. So, when the firm he had founded was given the contract, back he came and took personal charge of the work. The bell

foundry was not equipped to cast a bell as big as this was to be. Its pits were not deep enough, nor wide enough; its cranes were not heavy enough nor strong enough, to handle this great mass of metal. Down on First Avenue, between Short and West streets, opposite the old Duquesne school S. S. Fowler had one of the big machine shops of the day. Among other work done there was the casting of cylinders for steam engines and both pits and cranes were of sufficient size for a job much bigger than the handling of this bell would be. For years Mr. Fulton and Mr. Fowler had been close business and personal friends and Mr. Fulton had no difficulty in arranging to cast his great bell in the Fowler shop. It was there that the work was performed. When the moulds were opened Mr. Fulton saw at a glance that things had gone awry. There had been a blunder in heating the metal and the tin, so necessary to give the desired tone to the bell, had been burned out of the mass of metal and formed on the inside of the mould. Without hesitation Mr. Fulton condemned his own work, broke up the bell, and recast it. This time he gave even closer personal supervision than he had on the first attempt and turned out a piece of work which he looked upon as a fitting finish to a long and useful career. It was the biggest bell that had ever been cast in Pittsburgh and, in all probability, the biggest that ever will be cast here.

In all Pittsburgh there were no buildings of any magnitude strong enough to carry the weight of this bell and abide by the force of the blow required to ring it. The court house stood on the present site, occupying the Grant Street front of the block. In the rear, on the line of Ross Street, was the county jail. The jail building did not run all the way to Diamond Street but in the corner stood the little sun dial which now has a place in the Allegheny parks. The level of the jail yard was probably twenty feet above Diamond Street, a strong retaining wall running around it. In this open space, as close to the corner of Diamond and Ross streets as it could be placed without infringing on the sun dial, a wooden tower was erected running up in the air almost to the court house dome. In shape it was much like an oil derrick, larger at the base, of course, and constructed with greater strength. Four heavy squared beams formed

the corners. These were strongly braced and capped with an iron top from which the bell could be suspended. The first 16 feet was enclosed with a board fence, a door providing for ingress and egress. Stairs crossing from one side of the tower to the other provided a passage to enter the enclosed section where the fire alarm operator had a place with his machinery. Just above this the bell was hung. There the bell remained until the new City Hall was erected at Smithfield Street and Oliver Avenue, the latter street then known by its ancient name of Virgin Alley. When the hall was built the center tower was designed to carry the bell and in each floor a movable trap was placed to lift it out, to make a passage for the bell to what was supposed to be its final home. The bell was mounted in 1872 and continued as a fire bell until 1892. Its use as an alarm bell was discontinued for a practical reason. The growth of the city was such, and there were so many people at all hours of the night and day within reach of the sound of the bell that an alarm meant the immediate gathering of a crowd which seriously hampered the efforts of the firemen and frequently made accidents unavoidable. The location of the boxes on the most prominent street corners was known and the striking of the numbers on the bell meant the crowding of the streets in the vicinity of the boxes. For this reason the city discontinued the sounding of the alarm. From that time on the only use made of the bell was as a time-giver, a single stroke at the end of each three hours of the twenty-four being the signal for the examination of thousands of watches.

In addition to being a fire alarm bell, it was used for other public purposes. Always, a few minutes after twelve o'clock on April 10th, it was sounded in commemoration of the big fire of 1845, the signal being 1-8-4-5. It was tolled for the passing of eminent men; it was used to signal the opening of celebrations and to give notice of the approach of trains bearing the remains of public servants who had passed away. As an illustration, when the train bearing the body of President Garfield crossed the city line from the East, the box at Homewood Avenue and the Pennsylvania Rail Road, then the most eastern box in the city, was pulled, and the bell tolled from the time the alarm came in until the train had crossed the Allegheny river and was beyond

Pittsburgh. The same course was pursued when the body of General Sherman passed through Pittsburgh.

The machinery of the operating striker of the bell was very heavy and was so arranged that a weight dropped 2 inches with each tap. In recent years it was believed that the tower was becoming unsafe and in 1909 the ringing of the bell was suspended; but its career was not ended. On the 11th of November, 1918, the Germans signed the armistice which heralded the dawn of peace in the World War. The Council of National Defense of Allegheny County had its offices in the Old City Hall building. William H. Stevenson, the president of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania was the chairman of the Council. When the exhuberant joy of the citizens of Pittsburgh over the return of peace was at its height, Mr. Stevenson ascended the tower of the City Hall building and rang the bell, and its notes joined in the general pandemonium which reigned in the city. The last time that the bell spoke was on April 10, 1920, when it rang out 1-8-4-5, proclaiming the seventy-fifth anniversary of the great Pittsburgh fire.

DR. GOUCHER TELLS HOW HE WON LINCOLN'S BLESSING*

"Love God, obey your parents, serve your country and the world will never forget you." This was the message that President Abraham Lincoln gave to a boy on the eve of his first inauguration. That boy was John Franklin Goucher, later founder of Goucher College, Baltimore. This is the way Dr. Goucher tells the story:

"Lincoln passed through Pittsburgh and stayed at the old Monongahela House on his way to Washington for his first inauguration. Of course, all the boys in the town vied with each other as to who could get nearest the President-elect. I was just a little fellow at the time, frail and delicate, and the youngest of three boys. My older brothers got permission of my father at the breakfast table to go up to the hotel and see if they could get a glimpse of Lincoln.

"Of course, when I knew they were going I had to go—but they wouldn't let me. My eldest brother said I was too little and might get trampled by the crowds. My father just smiled and didn't say anything. I knew by his smile that he intended taking me himself. But I didn't want to go with him. He was a leisurely gentleman of the old school and I was afraid I wouldn't see anything. So I persuaded him to let me go alone.

Followed the Crowd In.

"When I got to the hotel there was a big crowd around it. The Mayor and City Councilmen were marching in to pay their respects to the President-elect. That was what I had come for and I didn't see any reasons why I shouldn't pay my respects when they did. As we were marching in the Councilman ahead of me turned around and looked at the little child in back, but—as I seemed so perfectly unconcerned—I supposed he thought I belonged to the man in back. And the man in back was probably placing me with the man in front. Anyway, no one stopped me.

*Dr. Goucher was the son of Dr. John M. Goucher, a Pittsburgh physician, who at the time that Lincoln passed through the city, lived with his family at the northwesterly corner of Fifth Street, now Fifth Avenue, and Cherry Alley.

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"I followed the procession into the President-elect's private parlor, where he received them, and listened to the Mayor's speech. I caught a few words of his reply, saw him shake hands with a number of the men, and then, with a farewell smile for his guests, he retired into an inner room. The Councilmen filed out. As I had come in with them, I thought it best to go out with them—but first I wanted to get a nearer view of that wonderful man whose kindly smile had thrilled me—child as I was.

"I stepped to the door of his inner room. Lincoln's life had been attempted several times, and, probably with his nerves keyed to an emergency, the President turned around. When he had been speaking to the Councilmen Lincoln's face had been all smiles; those wonderful eyes of his lighted with an inner glow. I was only a child, but something gripped my heart as I caught sight of his face when he thought he was alone.

His Sadness Disappears.

I have never seen such ineffable sadness on the face of any human being. All the sorrows of the world were reflected in his kind eyes. Seeing a little child his face softened marvelously.

"I stuck out my hand as I had seen the Councilmen do and said as I had heard them say: 'It is a great pleasure to shake hands with you, Mr. President.'

"His smile was like benevolent sunshine. He took my hand with both his big, warm ones and, looking down into my face, he said: 'God bless you, my son; love God, obey your parents, serve your country and the world will never forget you.'

"I never saw him again, not until I was a student in Harrisburg. It was after his assassination and his body lay in state for a short time in the state Capitol. It was then I saw him for the second time. I saw the tired-lined face, the eyes closed as if in sleep and the bullet wound in his head. And I thought of that look of weary sadness that I had noticed on his face and of the glorifying smile that had followed it."—From *The Methodist* February 6, 1919.

AN OLD TIME EJECTMENT

BY HON. J. McF. CARPENTER

Through the courtesy of the late Col. W. T. Lindsay and Judge Joseph Buffington, the writer was able some years ago, to obtain temporary possession of the original papers, now on file in the Clerks Office of the United States Circuit Court of the Western District of Pennsylvania, in an action of ejectment brought in 1802, involving the title to a tract of land bounded by the Monongahela and Ohio rivers and Raccoon Creek, and containing about one hundred thousand acres. To the laymen as well as the lawyers of today, the record presents some unique features.

The old time ejectment lawyer necessarily had some knowledge of surveying and a certain degree of familiarity with the old compass and Jacob-staff, the diurnal and annual variation of the magnetic needle and the various marks, blazes, (frequently called "bleezes" by the old farmers,) by which the date of the original survey could be determined, and notches to "witness" the existence of a nearby corner. The city bred attorney, however learned, was no match for the old backwoods lawyer in a controversy involving the age of marks and the various methods of ascertaining the true location of lines. The older members of our bar will recall the face and the movements of the late Robert Woods as he engaged in a fight over the lines of a farm.

The son of a surveyor, he had practical experience in "field work." Aggressive in conducting a trial, ever on the alert to seize and hold what he deemed vantage ground; it was time well spent by young lawyers who watched him in the trial of his favorite law suit—an old fashioned ejectment.

In Warren's famous "Ten Thousand a Year" familiar to lawyers, (I mean the book not the 10,000 per) we are carried through an action of ejectment in which the question was as to ancestry, descent, etc. This story furnishes a complete history of the intricacies and technicalities of the ancient action. No lawyer or intelligent layman can fail to derive instruction and amusement in reading this story of

the addlepated fop-doodle, Tittlebat Titmouse, who starved himself during the week that he might dress so as to make a favorable impression on the ladies as he walked out Sunday afternoons. Then we have that delectable tric, Quirk, Gammon and Snap, who discovered Tittlebat and set the legal machinery in motion to recover the estate. To any of our younger attorneys who have not read this story I can only say—read it. Comparing it with the action at No. 7 June Term, 1802, one discovers how prone we are to hold on to ancient precedents in court proceedings. For even as late as the last century, we find that when Augustine wished to eject Joshua from the vast territory described in the action above mentioned, fictitious names were used, as appears by the following:

(COPY of DOCKET ENTRIES)
WESTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA
June Session 1802

Hamilton Dallas Rawle E. Tilgman Ingersoll	Timothy Peaceable, Lessee of Augustine Prevost, a Citizen of the State of New York.	Eject-
No. 7.	vs.	ment
Collins McKean	Thomas Troublesome, with notice to Joshua Meeks, tenant in Poss'n., a citizen of Pennsylvania	Served

Mr. Collins appears Pleads noncul: & enters into the Common - and takes defense for 33 acres - Issue & rule for trial.

1803 May 3 Rule by consent To take Depositions on both sides on Twenty Days notice to the opposite Party -

1803 May 5 On Motion of Mr. Ingersoll for Plff. Rule - That surveys be made to ascertain the Lines and Boundaries touching the tracts of Land claimed by the Plaintiff including the Premises in dispute in this Ejectment on twenty days notice to the Defendant or his Attorney.

" Sept. 1 Rule for Trial by special jury.

" Oct. 11 On Motion of Mr. Ingersoll for the Plff. & on

reading the affidavit of Charles Morgan - Rule to show cause on the first day of next session why an attachment should not issue against Joshua Meeks for a contempt of this court.

1804 May 5 Continued by consent and on Motion of Mr. Ingersoll for Plff. same Rule as in the preceding action.

" " 7 On Motion of Mr. Dallas - Rule to show cause on the first day of next session why attachments should not issue against West Elliott, John Henry Junr. and Samuel Henry, for obstructing the execution of the Rule of this Court in this cause for making surveys. Depns of H. Baldwin and H. Haslet filed.

1806 Oct. :13 And now a jury being called come to wit - John Conrad, John Thompson, Paul Seeman, John Jackson, Manuel Eyre, jun. James Stokes, Hyman Gratz, James Tatem, Robert Morrell, James Rogers, George Sheaff & William Stothart, who are respectively sworn or affirmed &c. And thereupon Joshua Meeks, who, by a Rule of this Court, was heretofore made Defendant in this cause and entered into the common Rule, refuses to confess the Lease, Entry and Ouster laid in the Declaration whereupon the Plaintiff being unable to prove the same became nonsuit so far as relates to the said Joshua Meeks - and thereupon, on Motion of Mr. Ingersoll for the Plaintiff -

Judgment is entered against Thomas Troublesome the casual Ejector for the Premises in the Declaration mentioned.

The declaration sets out that "Thomas Troublesome, a citizen of the Western District of Pennsylvania, yeoman, residing therein was attached to answer Timothy Peaceable, a citizen of the State of New York, residing therein of a plea wherefore with force and arms he has entered into a tract of land, &c. (here follows a full description) which Augustine Prevost, a citizen of the State of New York, resident therein, to the said Timothy did demise and let for a term which is not yet expired and him from his aforesaid farm did eject

and other wrongs to him did to the great damage of said Timothy, &c.

John Doe.

Pleg - Deprof Richard Roe."

Now, as a matter of fact, one Joshua Meeks was the actual tenant in possession, claiming a fee in part of the land. When the summons was issued Thomas Troublesome served notice, that is, in theory he did so, on Meeks, the owner, to appear and defend, otherwise, he, Thomas would suffer judgment by default, as shown by the notice, which reads as follows:

> Sir: You may perceive by this Declaration in Ejectment that I am sued for the Premises in the same Declaration mentioned to which I have no title. If therefore you claim any title thereto and intend to defend it you must appear at the next Circuit Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania to be held at Bedford for the said Western District, on the twenty-fifth day of June next by some Attorney of that Court and make defence, otherwise I shall suffer Judgment to pass against me by Default and you will be turned out of possession.
>
> Your Friend,
>
> Thomas Troublesome,
>
> Bedford, 7 May, 1802.
>
> Tent.
>
> To Mr. Joshua Meeks
> a Citizen of the State
> of Pennsylvania, resident in Allegheny County
> in the said state.
> in possession of the
> Premises or some part
> thereof.

I find among the old papers the affidavit of one Charles Morgan, Surveyor, taken before William Gazzam, in which the affiant says he went upon the land to make a survey, but didn't finish because Meeks and Vance told him to stay off and he didn't think it prudent to disregard the notice. It seems odd that Troublesome should have been joined with Meeks and required to defend against Peaceable, but from

Morgan's affidavit one may infer that Joshua was not as "Meek as Moses," but had more of the qualities of that other ancient leader of Israel, who later entered the promised land, a privilege denied to his great predecessor. It would appear, too, that Mr. Peaceable in his attack upon Mr. Troublesome got into some trouble so far as Joshua was concerned, though as to part of the land he obtained peaceable possession as against the troublesome casual ejector.

In the early days it required two concurrent verdicts to settle title to land, now it requires but one verdict. Actions are now conducted in the names of the real parties. This shows that lawyers and law-makers are not always reactionaries, some prominent politicians to the contrary notwithstanding.

The days of Peaceable vs. Troublesome have passed into history, or, if you prefer, into "innocuous desuetude." We would not revive them. But we would not forget, or should not, that "there were giants in those days" on the Bench and at the Bar.

Very many of them were classic scholars, masters of pure and virile English. Steeped in legal lore and saturated with legal principles, they, like the old surveyors, blazed the line trees and notched the witness trees to guide succeeding generations. And it would be well for the restless, malcontents of the present to heed the injunction of the old BOOK—Remove not the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN THE GREAT WAR.

By DR. GEORGE P. DONEHOO

What would William Penn have thought if he had been told that one day the decendants of the Lenni Lenape, whom he first met on the shores of the Delaware at Shackamaxon, were to cross the "Great Salt Water" to fight side by side with the Frenchman, the Englishman and the men of every race and creed who believe in justice and truth?

What would have LaSalle, and the countless other voyageurs who carried the Lillies of France from the lakes of Canada to the shores of Louisiana, have thought, had they been told that the descendants of the Chippewas, the Mississaguas, the Iroquois, the Loups and the many other tribes of Red Men, were one day to go to France to protect Paris from the invasion of savagery?

What would the Calvinistic Scotchman, who became a blood-thirsty hunter of the "Injun" along the foothills of the Alleghanies, have thought if he had been told that the descendants of the Senaca and Munsee, whose war whoop he had heard over the smouldering ruins of his log cabin, were one day to die on the fields of Flanders as comrades in arms with the "Ladies of Hell"?

What would have all of these worthy pioneers have deemed such a picture—an impossible one? And when we think of the short time which has passed since the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland were bathed in blood in the Indian Wars—less than 125 years—does not the picture seem a merely imaginary one?

The descendants of Tammany, Tedyuskung, Canassatego and the great host of other Indian chiefs, fighting the Germans as aviators, as artillerymen, as sharpshooters, as "doughboys" and wearing the khaki as defenders of civilization in its great struggle with savagery. Does it not seem like a dream?

The American Indian has been noted as a warrior since his first meeting with the white race. As some one has said "the Indian has a genius for war." He is a born strategist.

He has shown his ability as a warrior in all of his battles with the white race from the time of John Smith to the masterly retreat of Chief Joseph. So far as the writer is aware, the only real battle with white men in which he was out-witted by strategy was at Bushy Run, in Pennsylvania, when Colonel Boquet showed superior ability to Kiasutha as a strategist.

It is small wonder then that the Indian has again made a name for himself in this greatest of all wars, in which the choicest soldiers of all nations have taken part. The extent of his services in this war was little understood or appreciated.

When one realizes the immensity of the injustice done to the Indian by the white race, as well as by the nation, the fact that he offered himself as a volunteer in this war to fight under the flag of the nation which has denied him all rights of citizenship is in itself a thing to be wondered at. The United States entered this war to make the world a safe place for the oppressed of the smaller peoples and make treaties between nations something more than "mere scraps of paper." And yet, the Indian has been denied every right of citizenship by the government and every treaty between his tribes and the United States has been nothing but a "scrap of paper", to be torn up whenever it suited the pleasure of the government, or the avarice of white men, to do so. And no one realizes this fact more fully than does the Indian himself. But, when the United States entered this war to fight for righteousness between nations, the Indian offered himself and his money to the utmost limit. More Indians enlisted, in proportion to population of fighting age, than did any race on the entire continent.

It must be kept in mind that the Indian is neither an alien nor a citizen. He occupies no place whatever in the scheme of governmental affairs. He is nothing but "a perpetual ward of the nation." He has never played a part in the political affairs of the government, simply because he has been ignored as a factor. We have had to meet the desires of the German-American, the Irish-American, the Greek-American, the Russian-American and all other hyphenates. In what political fight has the American-Indian ever been taken into consideration? What party has ever

tried to place in its platform some bait to attract the vote of the American-Indian? The Negro vote, the German vote, the Irish vote have all been sought by all sorts of devices. The Indian has never been sought—because it does not exist.

And yet, when the United States called for soldiers to cross the ocean to fight for the preservation of civilization, the Indian left the land of his ancestors to die on foreign soil, fighting side by side with his white brothers under a flag which he had no right to call "my flag" and for a nation which had denied him the right to call "my country". The warriors of nearly every tribe on the American continent are to-day sleeping side by side with the khaki clad Yanks on every battle-field of northern France, from Vimy Ridge to the Argonne Forest.

There were in the army and navy of the United States, in round numbers, about 10,000 Indians. Of this number over 6,000 enlisted as volunteers. According to the figures given in the Second Report of the Provost Marshal General, the total registration of the Indians, under the selective service, was 17,313. Of this number 6,509 were inducted into the army of the United States.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his report for 1918 estimates that there were in the military service of the United States 8,000 Indians of all tribes. In his report he says, "Considering the large number of aged and infirm Indians and others not subject under the draft, leaving about 33,000 of military eligibility, I regard the representation of 8,000 in camp and actual warfare, as furnishing a ratio of population unsurpassed, if equaled, by any other race or nation." That is, 28 per cent. of the available man power of the Indian race. If the same percentage had been carried out by the white population of the nation, there would have been an army of 10,000,000 men under arms.

In addition to giving men, the Indians gave of their money, to the Red Cross, Liberty Loans and other war activities. To the First Liberty Loan they subscribed $4,609,850. To the four loans a total of $20,000,000, or an average of $58 for every Indian, man, woman and child, in the United States. In September 1918, there were 10,000 Indians in the American Red Cross. The Indian women

and girls worked as faithfully in making hospital supplies as any class of women on the continent.

The Indians of Canada have been equally patriotic and self-sacrificing in their service. According to the "Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs" of Canada, for 1918, more than 3,500 Indians had enlisted. "This number represents approximately 35 per cent of the Indian male population of military age resident in the nine provinces." Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, of Canada, says, "The Indians have established for themselves a magnificent record, which should place their race high in the esteem of their fellow-countrymen and our allies. The manner in which the Indians have responded to the call to the colours appears more especially commendable when it is remembered that they are wards of the government, and have not, therefore, the responsibility of citizenship, that many of them were obliged to make long arduous journeys from remote localities in order to offer their services, and that their disposition renders them naturally averse to leaving their own country and conditions of life."

Some of these Canadian Indians walked 500 miles in order to enlist. One of them travelled 3,000 miles, from the Arctic coast, near Herschel Island, by trail, canoe and boat, to Vancouver in order to enlist. Many of the Canadian Indians have been decorated for unusual bravery. They excelled as sharp-shooters. One of these, named Ballantyne, of the 8th Battalion, before being wounded, killed 50 Germans, the majority of whom were sharp-shooters, or "snipers," as they are now called.

Many of the Indians of the United States and Canada served as commissioned officers. The majority of the officers and non-commissioned officers of "D" Company, 114th Battalion of Canada, were Indians of the Six Nations.

These few facts, gathered from the official reports of the United States and Canada, show a part of the help given by the American Indian to the cause of the Allies.

Does it not seem to be the time, after the injustice of more than "A Century of Dishonor," to grant to this patriotic race a place, side by side with the white man and the negro, in the affairs of the nation? They were deemed

worthy of a place by the side of their white brothers in the battles of Vimy Ridge, the Marne, Chateau-Thierry and in the Argonne Forest; they have been deemed worthy to sleep the last long sleep, side by side with their comrades in khaki, in those hallowed spots in France, why then are they not worthy to take a place side by side with the white man and the negro in the battles of peace?

As Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa) says, in the "American Indian Magazine,"

"It is not the fault of the people in a way; not perhaps the fault of any particular administration, that the soldier returning from the Marne or Chateau-Thierry should still find his money and land held by the Indian Bureau. When he asks for freedom, they answer him, 'Can you propose anything better than the present system?' He replies, 'Is there anything better today than American citizenship?'"

Until this blot is cleansed from the "Star Spangled Banner," we had better speak softly about injustice to the weaker races and not talk too loudly about the right of "self-determination." The Indian is not asking for a separate government. All he is asking for it the right to become an American citizen, under the flag for which he fought when all citizenship and government was at stake.

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Chaplin, James C.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
*Chamberlin, Miss S. Emma
New Brighton, Penn'a.
Chester, John N.
Childers, C. E. E.
Childs, Mrs. Harvey Jr.
Church, Samuel Harden
Clarke, Allan
Clarke, James M.
Clause, W. L.
Clugston, William A.
Edgewood Park, Penn'a.
Coakley, Rev. Thomas F., D.D.
*Collins, Stephen
Connelley, Clifford B.
Harrisburg, Penn'a.
Conner, Rev. W. F., D.D.
Conroy, W. E.
Corrigan, C. E.
Cowan, John P.
Cowan, W. A., Jr.
Butler, Penn'a.
Coyle, Robert J., Jr.
Crago, Hon. Thomas S.
Waynesburg, Penn'a.
Craig, Neville B.
Philadelphia, Penn'a.
Craig, Edwin S.
Craig, John S.
Craighead, Ernest S.
Edgewood, Penn'a.
Cromlish, W. L.
*Crumrine, Boyd
Washington, Penn'a.
Curry, Grant

D

Daggette, A. S., M.D.
Dahlinger, Charles W.
Dailey, John H.
Dangerfield, B., Jr.
Danner, T. J.
Davis, Allan
Davis, Carroll P.
Davis, Herman S.
Davis, Miss Mary A.
Davis, Major William H.
Davis, Mrs. W. L.

*Deceased

Davis, W. L.
*Davis, Robert S.
Dawson, L. V.
Dean, Arthur R.
Ford City, Penn'a.
Decker, Omar S.
Densmore, Benjamin V.
Dewar, John
Dewhurst, Mrs. A. M.
Dewhurst, Richard M.
Hamilton, Canada.
Diehl, William J.
Diller, Theadore, M. D.
Dilworth, H. P.
Dilworth. John Cadwalader
Dippold, Miss Louise W.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Donaldson, Thomas R.
Donkin, William A.
Douglass, E. P.
McKeesport, Penn'a.
*Draper, James W.
*Dravo, Edward T.
Dresch, Miss Mary
Duffield, C. C.
Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio.
Duff, John D.
*Duff, J. Boyd
Duff, Mrs. Martha
Crafton, Penn'a.
Duff, William M.
Duke, Charles J.
Dunlevy, D. W.
Dunn, T. A.
DuPuy, Herbert
DuShane, J. S.
New Castle, Penn'a.
Duncan, Mrs. John
Dwyer, V. C.

E

Eaton, Miss M. G.
Eaton, Miss Sadie
Edwards, James F., M.D.
Omaha, Nebraska.
Edlis, A.
Egbert, Mrs. Eliza. Phipps
Franklin, Penn'a.
Eggers, Edward E.
Eichbaum, G. R.
Emlenton, Penn'a.
Eichenauer, J. B.
Eichleay, Walter B.
Elder, Miss Marguerite M.
Elliot, Bryon K.
Elliot, Mrs. Mary E.
Avalon, Penn'a.
Ely, Sumner B.
Englert, Edmond
English, W. Y.
Evans, Alan S.
Ewing, John Kennedy, Jr.
Barton, Florida.
Ewing, Major Robert M.
*Ewing, William B., M.D.

F

Fairman, John A.
Felix, Otto F.
Ferree, C. B.
Ferree, Delmont K.
Fetterman, Dean J. C.
Fetterman, J. H.
Fickeisen, Irwin M.
Fisher, Charles A.
Fisher, H. W.
Fitzpatrick, T. J.
Crafton, Penn'a.
Fleming, George T.
Flowers, George W.
Foerster, Adolph M.
Follansbee, B. G.
Follansbee, William U.
Fording, Arthur M.
*Foulk, Wilson M.
Charleston, W. Virginia.
Fraser, Mrs. C. D.
Ardsley-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.
Fraser, John D.
Ben Avon, Penn'a.
Frazer, Hon. Robert S.
*Frank, Lawrence W.
*Frank, John H.
Ligonier, Penn'a.
Frick, Mrs. Ada M. C.
New York, N. Y.
*Frick, Henry Clay
New York, N. Y.
Fulle., Guy N.
Fuller, Miss Lillian R.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Furey, William M.

G

Gallagher, M. J.
Garland, Robert
Garwood, C. H.

*Deceased

Gerry, Roland
Gethoefer, L. H.
Gillespie, T. J.
Glass, George N.
Goerlitz, C. W.
Goehring Hon. John M.
Golden, William A.
Golder, W. J.
Gordon, Allen T. C.
Gordon, George B.
Gosser, George W.
Graham, Albert
Graham, Charles J.
Graham, Miss Martha
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Graham, N. E.
East Brady, Penn'a.
Graham, William C.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Gray, Mrs. Margaret S.
Grayson, H. S.
Gribbon, Ira
Groves, W. W.
Grubbs, T. S.
Edgewood, Penn'a.
Grubbs, W. Clyde
Guffey, A. S.
Guffey, Col. James M.
Gumbert, Hon. A. C.
Guthrie, Miss Priscilla S
*Guthrie, Hon. George W.
Guthrie, R. W.

H

Haddon, James
Uniontown, Penn'a.
Hailman, George L.
Hailman, J. D.
Hagerling, Sidney A.
*Harper, Samuel B., Esq.
Hall, William M.
Hamilton, A. G.
Hammerschlag, A. A., LL.D.
Hammond, James H.
Hanauer, Albert M.
Hanna, Charles A.
Montclair, New Jersey
Hanna, F. R.
Hannah, Thomas
Harbison, Wm. Albert
Harbison, Ralph W.
Harding, Miss Julia Morgan
Hardie, Miss Jessie H.
Harnish, Miss Bess
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Harper, John A.
Hart, Pennock
Hartley, Thomas Reed
Hartman, Galen C.
Harvey, Mrs. Helen Price
Foxburg, Penn'a.
Harvey, Frank L.
Foxburg, Penn'a.
Hatfield, Eugene
Hawkins, Thomas J.
Haworth, Mrs. John
Edgeworth, Penn'a.
Hay, Southard
Hays, Gilbert A.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
*Hayden, Rev. Horace Edwin, D.D.
Wilkes Barre, Penn'a.
Heany, F. Newton
*Heinz, H. J.
Heinz, Fred. J.
Hench, Prof. J. B.
Henderson, James A.
Henderson, J. F.
Henry, David F., Esq.
Henrici, Max
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Herron, John S.
Herron, John W.
Hermes, John R.
Hershberger, Harry S.
Hershman, Oliver S.
Hertz, Julius
Hiller, August
*Hill, Col. W. S.
Holdsworth, J. T., Ph.D.
Holland, William J., Ph.D. LL.D.
Holmes, A. G.
Hoopes, Miss Ellen
New Brighton, Penn'a.
Horne, Albert A.
*Horne, Durbin
Horner, W. S.
Horton, Charles B.
*Houston, James W.
Howard, Miss Bessie M.
Howell, Charles S.
Houlahen, Hon. James
Harper, Sampel B.
Hubbard, Charles S.
Hunt, Roy A.

*Deceased

Hunt, Mrs. Grace O'Neil
Elizabeth, Penn'a.
Hunter, A. S.
Hutchinson, C. R.
Hustead, James Edgar
Uniontown, Penn'a.

I

Iams, Mrs. Franklin P.
Imbrie, A. M.
Insley, Miss Anna W.
Jennette, Penn'a.
Irish, Mrs. Franklin C.
Irish, Franklin C.
Irwin, Edward P.
Irwin, W. G.
Pitcairn, Penn'a.

J

Jackson, Miss Mary L.
Jackson, C. E.
Jackson, S. H.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Jamison, Prof. O. S.
Avalon, Penn'a.
Jarvis, James N.
Jenkins, Mrs. Thomas C.
Jenkinson, A. M.
Jenks, George S.
Jennings, Miss Lou
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Johnson, Carmon C.
*Johnston, John R.
Johnston, John R., Jr.
Johnston, R. W.
Johnston, Stewart
Johnston, Mrs. Paul Stewart
Livingston Manor, N. Y.
Johnston, Paul Stewart,
Livingston Manor, N. Y.
Johns, L. E.
Jones, B. F., Jr.
Jones, C. W.
Jones, William Larimer
Jones, Miss Winifred N.
Jordan, John W., LL.D.,
Philadelphia, Penn'a.

K

*Kammerer, W. S.
Kann, W. L.
*Kane, John E.
Kay, James I.
Keelan, F. L.
Keenan, Col. Thomas J.
Keene, E. L.
Keefer, Miss Iantha D.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Keller, Miss Mary
Keller, Thomas D.
Kelly, A. J., Jr.
Kelly, Joseph A.
*Kemler, Capt. Louis
Kent, E. J.
Kerr, John H.
Kidney, Elmer L.
Bellevue, Penn'a.
Kier, S. M.
Kimball, F. A.
Kincaid, Charles W.
King, Major James Edward
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
King, Samuel L., Jr.
Kingan, Mrs. Anna M.
Chevy Chase, Maryland
Kiser, C. W.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
*Kitsmiller, E. A.
Klee, W. B.
Kline, Hon. Charles H.
Knight, Reeve L.
Avalon, Penn'a.
Kress, F. J.
Kunkle, Mrs. W. H.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Kussart, Mrs. Philip

L

Lacock, Prof. John K.
Amity, Penn'a.
Lanahan, Frank J.
*Landis, H. M.
Lappe, Alexander H.
Lappe, Louis H.
Lauffer, Charles A., M.D.,
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
*Lambing, Rt. Rev. Mgr. A.A., LL.D.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a
LeMoyne, Francis J.
Lee, Edward B.
*Levy, Rabbi J. Leonard, D.D.
Leonard, McClellan
Uniontown, Penn'a.
Lehman, George M.
Philadelphia, Penn'a.
Lehmer, George S.
Lichty, John A., M.D.
*Lichliter, Rev., M.D., D.D
Harrisburg, Penna
Liggett, Thomas
Sewickley, Penn'a.

*Deceased

Lincoln, William E.
Linhart, Samuel Black, A.B., A.M., DD.
Lockhart, James H.
Logan, Brigadier General Albert J.
Logan, George B.
*Long, Albert M.
*Long, S. C.
Philadelphia, Penn'a.
Love, Rev. R. J., Ph.D.
Ocala, Florida.
Lowe, Miss Katherine, D.M.
Lowe, Miss Rachel R.
Little, J. E., Esq.
Braddock, Pennsylvania.
Lustenberger, L. C.
Lutton, Miss Katherine A.
Lyne, W. C.
*Lyon, William T.

M

Magee, Hon. William A.
Marsh, Joseph W.
Marsh, James Ingraham
Marshall, Frederick
Martin, A.M., D.D.S.
Martin, G. Benjamin
Martin, Mrs. John Chambers
Martin, J. William
Elizabeth, Penn'a.
Marvin, Walter R.
*Marvin, Earle R.
Macfarlane, Hon. James R.
MacDonald, Matthew
Mason, H. L., Jr.
Martin, William T.
Mazurie, Henry R.
Mehard, Churchill B.
*Mehard, Hon. S. S.
Mellon, Andrew W.
*Mellon, Mrs. James R.
Mellon, James R.
Mellon, Robert B.
Mellor, Walter C.
Mercur, W. H., M.D.
Meyran, L. A.
Miles, Miss Sarah E.
Miles, J. Walter
Irwin, Penn'a.
Miller, A. D., Jr.
Miller, Mrs. Carroll
Miller, Mrs. Emma R.
Miller, Florence C.
Miller, John F.
Edgewood, Penn'a.
Miller, Milo H.
Knoxville, Penn'a.
Miller Robert T., M.D.
*Miller, Reuben
Milligan, Mrs. Robert
Milligan, Robert, M.D.
Mitchell, Walter S.
Molamphy, Mrs. Terese N.
Monro, Mrs. William L.
Mooney, James E.
Moore, Alexander P.
Moore, Arthur A., M.D.
Richmond, Virginia
Moore, Mrs. Eliza. J.
Moore, W. J.
Mossman, B. E., M.D.,
Greenville, Penn'a.
Motheral, George B.
Moyer, I. J., M.D.
Mudge, E. W.
Murdoch, Mrs. Frank H.
Murphy, Mrs. Mary S.
Murphy, Prof. D. C.,
Slippery Rock, Penn'a.
Myers, Clifford R.
Charleston, W. Virginia
McCaffrey, Thomas
McCandless, George M.
McClay, Samuel L.
McClintock, Oliver
McComb, W. B.
McConnell, Miss Bertha
McConway, William
McConway, William, Jr.
McCormick, Samuel Black, A.M., D.D., LL.D.

Mc

McCormick, Roscoe T.,
Irwin, Penn'a.
McCoy, Edward E.
McCrady, Roland A.
McCurdy, Mrs. Susan R.,
Wilkinsburg, Pa.
McCurdy, Stewart L., A.M., M.D.
McCune, Thomas C.,
Bellevue, Penn'a.
McCutcheon, Miss Margaret A.
*McCracken, Miss M. J.
*McDermott, Rev. P.A., D.D., LL.D.

*Deceased

McDonald, Lawrence S.
McDowell, Heber
McCloy, W. L.
Tulsa, Oklahoma.
McConway, William
McGinniss, Miss Margaret
McGovern, Charles C.
McGreary, James E.
McKay, J. Albert
McKay, Thomas J.
McKean, Robert A.
McKeefrey, John M.
Leetonia, Ohio
McKeefrey, W. D.
Leetonia, Ohio
McKenna, Hon. Charles F.
McKeever, Rev. E. M., D.D.
McKinney, Mrs. W. S.
*McKinney, James P.
McKnight, William James
Brookville, Penn'a.
McKnight, Mrs. T. H. B.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
McKnight, T. H. B.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
McMains, S. J., M.D.
Leechburg, Penn'a.
McMeans, Miss Della M.
Munhall, Penna.
McMillen, Miss Belle S.
McMillen, Miss Clara F.
McNaugher, D. W.
McNaughton, Miss Margaret
McSwigan, Andrew S.

N

Nesbit, Harry James
Neel, Mrs. Mary O'Neil
McKeesport, Penn'a.
Neely, Harry W.
Neely, Howard
Negley, Alexander J.
Negley, Miss Alice M.
Negley, Miss Georgina G.
Nesbit, Harrison M.
Nisbet, Edward A.
Nevin, Franklin T.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Nicola, F. F.
Niebaum, John H.
Nirdlinger, M.
Nordhem, Ivan B.

O

O'Conner, Mrs. P. J.
*O'Donnel, Richard L.
Oliver, Augustus K.
O'Neil, J. Denny
McKeesport, Penn'a.
Orlady, Hon. George B.
Huntingdon, Penn'a.
Orr, Edwin Gilpin
O'Brien, Charles A.
Osburn, Frank C.
*Oliver, George T.

P

Page, Benjamin
Page, Oliver Ormsby
Painter, Joseph
Park, James H.
Parke, W. Howard
Parkin, W. M.
Parvin, Mrs. T. W.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Patterson, Burd Shippen
Patterson, John S.
Patterson, Miss M.
Patterson, P. C.
McKeesport, Penn'a.
Patton, William J.
Patton, J. Howard
Greensburg, Penn'a.
Paul, Mrs. J. W.
Kittanning, Penn'a.
Paul, Harry S.
*Paul, Jacob W.
Oakmont, Penn'a.
Pew, John G.
Philadelphia, Penn'a.
Phillips, C. J., D.D.S.
Phillips, John L., M.D.
Phillips, Mrs John M.
Phillips, Mrs. Lucy F.
Phillips, W. J.
Phipps, Henry Jr.
Pittsburgh Teacher's Ass'n, Inc.
Pickels, Mrs. Margaret
Plumer, L. M.
Pontefract, Mrs. E. M.
Shields, Penn'a.
Porter, John L.
Pollock, A. W.
Potter, John E.
Pinkerton, S. S.
Price, Bert T.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Price, Mrs. A. D.
Price, A. D., M.D.

*Deceased

Price, Charles B.
Price, Phillip W.
Provost, George Watson
*Prugh, Rev. John Gassler, D.D.

Q

Quay, Major Andrew G. C.
Beaver, Penn'a.
Quinon, Stephen
Comfort, Kendall Co., Texas.

R

Ralston, Miss Eleanor B.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Ralston, John M.
Rankin, Mrs. Alfred J.
New Brighton, Penn'a.
Rankin, George H.
Rauh, Mrs. Enoch
*Rauh, Enoch
Rauh, Marcus
Rea, C. S.
Reid, Hon. A. B.
*Reid, A. M., M.D.
Steubenville, Ohio
Reilly, Eugene S.
Reineman, Mrs. Robert T.
Reno, Samuel J., Jr.
Reynolds, C. J., D.D.S.
Rice, Joseph
Richardson, C. D.
Riddle, Charles E.
Ridinger, Charles W.
Rieck, Edward E.
Ritenour, John S.
Roberts, Jesse C.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
*Robbins, Hon. Edward E.
Greensburg, Penn'a.
Robertson, W. H.
Robinson, Charles K.
Robinson, E. D.
Robinson, Thomas R.
Robinson, W. H.
Rodgers, J. Franklin
Rodgers, W . L.
Rodgers, J. H.
Bellevue, Penn'a.
Rodgers, Roland C.
Brownsville, Penn'a.
Rodgers, William B., Jr.
Bellevue, Penn'a.
Rodgers, Miss Rachel
Murrysville, Penn'a.
Rook, Col. Charles A.
Rupp, Rev. L. W., D.D.
Tarentum, Pa.
Ryder, E. C.

S

Samson, Harry G.
Sanders, Charles
Sands, Mrs. George
*Sample, James G.
Wildwood, Penn'a.
Scaife, Marvin F.
Scaife, W. Lucien
Schmidt, H. M.
*Schuldenberg, George W
Scott, H. G.
Scott, James H.
Scott, Thomas F.
Scully, Cornelius D.
Scully, Henry R.
Seimon, T. W.
Edgewood, Penn'a.
Semmelrock, John F.
Seymour, Samuel L.
Shafer, Hon. John D.
Shanahan, D. F.
Shaw, D. C.
*Shaw, H. O.
Shaw, George E.
Shaw, Wilson A.
Sheedy, Rev. Morgan M., D.D.,
Altoona, Penn'a.
Siebeneck, H. K.
Simons, C. A.
Aspinwall, Penn'a.
Simpson, James N.
Sims, Wm. Henry
Sipe, Sam. F.
Slack, John C.,
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Sloan, George A., M.D.,
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Smith, E. Z.
*Smith, Charles O.
Smith, Miss Ida
Castle Shannon, Penn'a.
Smith, Miss Sarah Hays,
Castle Shannon, Penn'a.
Smith, Lee S.
Smith, Philip Waddell
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Smith, Mrs. William H.
Smyres, Mrs. B. H.
Bellevue, Penn'a.

*Deceased

Snowden, C. L.
Speer, John Z.
Spencer, Robert L.
Splane, J. G.
Detroit, Michigan
Stagg, Miss Pauline H.
Stark, William
Stephenson, Miss Maude D.
Edgewood Park, Penn'a.
Stevenson, James B.
Stevenson, William H.
Stevenson, Mrs. William H.
Stengel, George H.
Stewart, Mrs. Charles
Stewart, Douglas
Stewart, George W.
Stewart, Hamilton
Stewart, William W.
Glen Osborne, Penn'a.
Stone. Carclon E.
Coraopolis, Penn'a.
Stoner, F. R.
Sunstein, A. J.
Swan, Miss Grace
*Swan, Robert
Sweeny, John F.
Sproull, Theadore

T

Taggart, C. C.
Tate, John M. Jr.,
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Taylor, S. A.
Taylor, William L.
Temple, Hon. Henry W.,
Washington, Penn'a.
Terry, Miss Lillian M.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Thaw, Benjamin
Thaw, Mrs. William
Thaw, H. K.
Thaw, J. C.
New York, N. Y.
Thompson, Mrs. Wm. Reed
Thompson, J. V.
Uniontown, Penn'a.
Thurston, Miss Alice M.
Titterington, J. Clyde
Kittanning, Penn'a.
Tiers, Clarence Van Dyke
Oakmont, Penn'a.
Titzel, Louis B.,
Glenshaw, Penn'a.
Todd, George A.
Braddock, Penn'a.
Todd, William T.
Topp, O. M.
*Thomas, John W.
Tone, S. L.
Torrens, Miss Sarah Bausman
*Torrance, Francis J.
Tranter, Mrs. Henry
Tredway, W. T.

V

Vanosten, Mrs. F. W.
Los Angeles, California
Veech, Miss R. L.
Ventress, G. E.
Von Bonnhorst, W. E.

W

Walker, John
Walker, Mrs. J. D.
Walker, Col. J. D.
Walker, Thomas M.
Bellevue, Penn'a.
Wallace, Miss Isabel
Walter, George L.
Wallace, Richard W.
Walkinshaw, Lewis C.
Greensburg, Penn'a.
Walton, F. L.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Watson, W. E.
Wattles, Mrs. Harvey J.
Waugh, Miss Edna B.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
*Webster, Homer J., Ph.D.,
Weil, A. Leo
Weixel, William J.
Weldon, Joseph A.
West, Charles H.
Weyman, Mrs. B. Frank
*Weyman, B. Frank
White, Miss Kathryn I.
White B.
*Wilharm, G. F. E., M.D.,
Crafton Heights, Penn'a.
*White, Hon. Harry,
Indiana, Penn'a.
Wilkins, W. Clyde
Wilkinson, Miss Elizabeth H.
Williams, G. W.
Williams, W. H.
Wilson, Erasmus
*Wilson, Robert W.,
Saltsburg, Penn'a.

*Deceased

Wilson, C. J.
Winters, Daniel
Wittmer, Miss Clara
Whigham, Mrs. William
Whyel, George
Uniontown, Penn'a.
Wolff, Paul C.
Wood, Joseph
Woodburn, S. S., M.D.
Woods, Edward A.
Wragg, John U.
*Wray, H. H.
Leechburg, Penn'a.
Wright, George J., M.D.
*Wright, James H., M.D.
*Wrightnour, Rev. J. S., D.D.
Clarion, Penn'a.

Y

Yohe, Isaac
Monongahela, Penn'a.

Z

Zacharias, Howard
*Zeller, August

*Deceased

MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA WHO DIED IN 1920.

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John Albert Brashear, Sc.D., LL.D.
Miss S. Emma Chamberlin,
New Brighton, Penn'a.
J. Boyd Duff
Wilson M. Foulk
James W. Houston
John R. Johnston
William S. Kammerer,
Captain Louis Kemler,
Albert M. Long
Richard L. O'Donnel
Jacob W. Paul
Homer J. Webster, Ph.D.
B. Frank Weyman,
(Life Member)
Hon. Harry White,
Indiana, Penn'a.
H. H. Wray,
Leechburg, Penn'a.
G. F. E. Wilharm, M.D.,
Crafton Heights, Penn'a.
Samuel B. Harper

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

161—Drum

Formerly the property of Co. 10, of the 4th Reg't., 1st Brigade, 15th Division, Pennsylvania Militia. When the Company was disbanded, sometime between 1846 and 1850, this came into the possession of Captain John Love, the former commander, and was by him retained until his death in 1876. During the Civil-War it was used on several occasions in the drilling of Union soldiers. It was also used during the Hayes Campaign in 1876 and the Garfield Campaign in 1880.

Presented by Rev. R. J. Love.

162—Fife

used by the Pennsylvania Militia, in connection with the drum whose history is given above.

Presented by Rev. R. J. Love.

163—Commission

of John Love, as Second Lieutenant of the Tenth Company, 106th Regiment, First Brigade 15th Division, Pennsylvania Militia. Issued in 1841.

Presented by Rev. R. J. Love.

164—Commission

of John Love, Captain of the Tenth Company, 4th Regiment, 1st Brigade, 15th Division, Pennsylvania Militia. Issued in 1846.

Presented by Rev. R. J. Love.

165—Ancient Bible

The property of Thomas Love, one of the pioneers of Allegheny County, and brought by him from Ireland in 1793.

Presented by Rev. R. J. Love.

166—Book

of Military Tactics, prepared and arranged by Brevet-Captain S. Cooper, under the supervision of Major General Alexander Macomb, "Commanding the Army of the United States 1836" This book was the property of Captain John Love, and was used by him in the instruction of the Pennsylvania Militia, 1841-1850.

Presented by Rev. R. J. Love

167—Frame 21x23

containing Sampler, made in 1851 by Mary S. C. Burchfield, daughter of the late William H. and Nancy Patterson Burchfield, of East Liberty.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

168—Frame 22x23

containing Sampler, made in 1851 by Isabella P. Burchfield, daughter of the late William H. and Nancy Patterson Burchfield, of East Liberty.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

169—Crayon Sketch

"Visite' la'Evneite' by Mary S. C. Burchfield, 1853.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

170—Pencil Sketch

"The Old Mill" by Mary S. C. Burchfield, 1853.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield

171—Silk Purse

belonging to the Misses Mary S. C. and Isabella P. Burchfield, made in 1850.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

172—Beaded Purse

belonging to the Burchfield family, made in 1835.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

173—Card Basket

made in 1849 by Mary S. C. Burchfield.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

174—Card Basket

made in 1849 by Isabella P. Burchfield.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

175—Cards

presented as a "Reward of Merit" to scholars of the Pittsburgh Public Schools in 1849-1850.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

176—Book Marks

made in 1850 by the Misses Mary S. C. and Isabella P. Burchfield.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

177—Parasol

green-silk ivory and pearl inlaid handle, from the Murphy and Burchfield store, Pittsburgh 1854.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

178—Parasol

black-silk ebony handle, from the Murphy and Burchfield store, Pittsburgh 1854.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

179—Pouch and Shot

used by the late Wm. H. Burchfield while hunting wild game in the Squirrel Hill district in 1835.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

180—Daguerreotype

of Mrs. Barbra A. Negley, *nee* Winebiddle, wife of Jacob Negley Sr., who donated the site of the East Liberty Presbyterian Church.

Presented by James Ross Mellon.

181—Daguerreotype

of Catherine Roup Negley. daughter of Jacob Negley, Sr.

Presented by James Ross Mellon.

182—Daguerreotype

of Barney Burns who kept a grocery and general store on Third Street, now Third Avenue between Grant and Ross Streets, in the early fifties. The following story was told about Daniel Negley storekeeper in the East End, who purchased a grind-stone from Mr. Burns. Burns was always slow in sending bills, he charged Mr. Negley with a cheese, who remonstrated, said he had never bought a cheese, but recollected that long before he had bought a grind-stone. Then Burns recalled that he had forgotten to mark a hole in the middle to show a grind-stone instead of a cheese. Burns had a very poor education, if any, therefore he often drew a circle for a cheese, and a circle with a hole in the center for a grind-stone. This story was told of Burns for many years.

Presented by James Ross Mellon.

183—Volume

"Thomas Mellon and His Times" by Thomas Mellon.

Presented by James Ross Mellon.

184—Volume

"The Larimer, McMasters and Allied Families" Compiled and Edited by Rachel Hughey Larimer Mellon.

Presented by James Ross Mellon.

185—Volume

Reminiscences of General William Larimer and of his son, William H. H. Larimer, two of the founders of Denver City.
Presented by William Larimer Mellon.

186—Daguerreotype

of Ruth Horton Negley, of Tarentum, Penn'a.
Presented by James Ross Mellon.

187—Frame

containing a photograph of Andrew Fulton, Sr.
Presented by his grandchildren,
Mrs. James S. Arnold,
Miss Jane M. Fulton,
Andrew Fulton.

188—Medal

Awarded Andrew Fulton, Sr., in 1835 by the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society, for the best chime of bells.
Presented by his grandchildren,
Mrs. James S. Arnold,
Miss Jane M. Fulton,
Andrew Fulton.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Order appointing the Guard of Honor for the Philadelphia Obsequies of President Lincoln. The order is signed by Albert M. Harper of Pittsburgh, Captain and Assistant Adjutant General.

Head Quarters,
Department of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa., April 22, 1865.

Special Orders,
No. 95. *Extract*:

IV.—The following named officers will constitute the GUARD OF HONOR to the late President of the United States, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, whilst his remains are in the city of Philadelphia:

Commodore Henry R. Hoff,----------U. S. Navy.
Commodore J. L. Lardner,----------U. S. Navy
Commodore T. Turner,----------U. S. Navy.
Colonel H. A. Frink,----------186th Reg't. Penna. Vols.
Colonel J. G. Johnston,---------Chief Q. M. Dep't. of Penna.
Colonel Wm. W. McKim,----------Q. M. Dep't.
Brev. Col. C. M. Dougall,----------Med. Dep't.
Lieut. Col. W. Davis,----------69th Reg't. Pa. Vols.
Lieut. Col. T. C. Moore,----------36th Reg't N.J. Vols.
Lieut. Col. John P. Murray,----------198th Reg't. Pa. Vols.
Lieut. Chas. C. Cresson,----------73rd Reg't. Pa. Vols.
Major John P. Sherburne,----------Ass't. Adj't. Gen'l.
Major Samuel Bell,----------Pay Dep't.
Major John D. Deveraux,----------V. R. C.
Major David Foley,----------V. R. C.
Major J. E. Montgomery,----------Ass't. Adj't. Gen'l.
Surgeon R. S. Kenderdine,----------U. S. Vols.
Cap't. James Forney,----------U. S. Marine Corps.
Cap't. Edwin E. Sellers,----------10th U. S. Inf'ty.
Cap't. J. P. Loughead,----------C. S.
Cap't H. P. James,----------A. Q. M.
Cap't. H. P. Goodrich,----------A. Q. M.
Cap't. A. S. Ashmead,----------A. Q. M.
Cap't. A. M. Harper,----------Ass't. Adj't. Gen'l.
1st. Lieut. G. D. Ramsey,----------U. S. Ordnance Dep't.
Ass't. Surgeon H. S. Schell,----------U. S. A.
1st. Lieut. E. M. Harris,----------8th Reg't U. S. C. T.

By Command of Major General Cadwalader.

JOHN S. SCHULTZE,
Assistant Adjutant General.

OFFICIAL
ALBERT M. HARPER,
Cap't. and Ass't. Adj't. Gen'l.

LETTER OF EDWIN M. STANTON

Mr. George W. McCandless has presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania an interesting letter written by Edwin M. Stanton, while a practicing lawyer in Pittsburgh, to former Governor William F. Johnston, and also a copy of the New Testament formerly belonging to Captain Alexander Johnston. Mr. McCandless' letter presenting these articles, together with the letter of Mr. Stanton, and the printed note on the front inside cover of the New Testament, follow.

HOTEL SCHENLEY

July 5, 1920.

The Historical Society
of Western Pennsylvania,
Pittsburgh, Penna.

I beg to enclose herewith a letter from the late Honorable Edwin M. Stanton, to the late Governor Wm. F. Johnston, stating that his son Capt. Alex Johnston was making fine progress as a law student in his office, dated, *Pittsburgh, July 18th, 1855.*

Captain Johnston gave up his law studies, enlisted and served through the Civil War, and I am also enclosing you a small copy of the New Testament, gotten up by "The Ladies of Allegheny City" in 1861 and given to him, as well as other soldiers who went to war."

Thinking this may be of interest to the "Society" I am presenting them for your consideration and would be glad to have you place them among your other records.

Your very truly,
Geo. W. McCandless,
Nephew Cap't. Alex Johnston,
and
Grandson Gov. Wm. F. Johnston.

Hon. Wm. F. Johnston
Dear Sir

I desire to let you know that your Son's attention and apparent progress in his studies give me much satisfaction and such as should be gratifying to you.

While in the office he is diligent, attentive and ready; and evinces in an unusual degree some excellent business qualities with a desire for attainment that cannot fail if cultivated to ensure him

success in professional life. Already he is of great service in the transaction of our business, and he bids fair to fulfill the desires of his parents and friends.

Yours truly,
Edwin M. Stanton
Pitt'g 18. July 1855.

NOTE IN NEW TESTAMENT

Will you accept this little memento of Christian love from the Ladies of Allegheny City? May it be your companion and comfort, in Camp and in Battle, and a pledge to assure you that you are remembered by us daily at the Throne of the Great King of kings and the God of Battles.

Pittsburgh, April 20, 1861.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 4 No. 2 APRIL, 1921 Price 75 Cents

THE RISING TIDE OF COLOR

BY CHARLES W. DAHLINGER

The title of this article, "The Rising Tide of Color", has been adopted from a book recently published under that name, and written by an American named Lothrop Stoddard. It treats of the advance in self-importance of the non-white races, and of the peril to the white race resulting therefrom. A chapter is devoted to the danger of the growing power of the negroes, not with particular reference to the United States, but more especially in Africa, although in his summary the author intimates that even in this country there is a real danger from the negroes here. The book presents a picture of dire possibilities to the white race. While the chapter on the black race can have no effect on any fair-minded person in the United States, it may however, influence those who are naturally prejudiced against negroes.

On the other hand there appeared in England, at about the same time that Stoddard's book was published, a volume by E. D. Morel, which is a complete foil to "The Rising Tide of Color" so far as negroes are concerned. It is called "The Black Man's Burden", and portrays in strong language the wrongs of the negroes in Africa. If the statements of this Englishman can be relied upon the negroes in Africa have some cause for being antagonistic to the white race, as near-

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

a great African state established by and for the negroes. The climax was reached in August, 1920, when a convention was held in New York which was attended by three thousand delegates from all parts of the world. In the great parade fifty thousand negroes participated. Their colors—"black for our race, red for our blood, and green for our promise" were everywhere to be seen intertwined with the stars and stripes. And the immense crowd collected in Madison Square Garden was probably the most unique gathering that ever assembled in that vast auditorium.

Garvey appears to be a fanatic and in deadly earnest. He works upon the pride and prejudices of the negroes, and it would be evading the truth to say that he has not made an impression and gained numerous followers, the claim being made that the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Garvey's principal organization, has a membership of nearly four millions. He is but little more than thirty four years of age, coal black, well educated and an orator of unusual force, and appears before his adherents resplendent in a green and crimson robe. By many of these he is regarded as "the greatest Negro whom God has placed upon the face of the earth since the days of Solomon." That he realizes that he is engaged in a high mission is indicated by the remark attributed to him when elected Provisional President of Africa, when he said, "You have given me the job of Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau all in one". But the vast majority of the negroes in the United States remain unmoved. One could as well believe that because Palestine has been recovered, and there is an agitation in favor of the Jews going there to live, that many of the followers of this religion will leave their homes in the United States or elsewhere to seek new ones in that faraway land, as that the grand ideas of Garvey will ever be converted into actualities, or that any considerable number of American negroes will emigrate from the United States to face the uncertainties of life in Africa. The movement is a daring experiment, and whether it succeeds or fails, it has caused a great awakening among the American negroes. They have learned much; they have been made to realize their possibilities as well as their obligations, and although some of the lessons taught them, may in the end, have been dearly paid for, they will result in the negroes becoming better and more useful citizens.

But the tide of color had been steadily rising in the United States many years before Garvey's scheme for a negro millennium was thought of. In 1917 the Interior Department reported that "no other racial group in the country shows a better adjustment in relation to the white natives than the more than ten million negroes. In fifty years illiteracy has decreased from 90 to 30 per cent. One million negroes are now farmers, either as renters or owners, and a fourth of them own more than twenty millions of acres of land. There are fifty thousand negroes in the South in business or professional pursuits, such as banking, law, medicine, and other lines than farming. They own more than a hundred banks." The World War has caused a still further advancement, but there is no reason for believing that any anti-white sentiment has come for it. While the negroes of the United States are naturally elated at the splendid manner in which the men of their color conducted themselves in Europe while fighting in armies of this country, their rise was mainly in peaceful pursuits. Their material prosperity has increased many fold. Many of their race have risen to honorable positions, not only in the learned professions, but in industry and the mechanic arts as well.

The advancement of the negroes has been more than appreciated by their white brethern. An incident which occurred recenty in the city of New York illustrates this sentiment. In that city a play has been running for perhaps two months called, "The Emperor Jones", the leading character in which is taken by a negro named Charles S. Gilpin. His acting of the part has attracted national attention. The Drama League decided to give a dinner at which the ten most distinguished contributors to the dramatic art in the last year were to be the honor guests. In a vote of the League's membership Gilpin was included as one of the ten persons to be thus honored. The directors of the League fearful that unpleasantness might arise if a negro were invited, decided not to ask Gilpin. At once the leaders of the profession rose up in arms and protested, declaring that they would not attend the dinner if Gilpin were not invited. The leading newspapers of New York entered vigorously into the controversy on the side of Gilpin. The *Tribune* referred to it editorially:

"There seems no possible excuse for the Drama League's treatment of Mr. Charles S. Gilpin, the distinguished negro actor, as an impossible guest at a dinner to the notable figures of the season's plays.__To draw the color line in respect to such an event is to insult the artistic integrity of every participant.____The prompt protest of these actors and actresses was a fine gesture, fitly expressing the faith of a true-hearted and generous people. The result should be to transform the Drama League's occasion into a dinner in honor of Mr. Gilpin. The whole community will be glad for any amends that can be made to this admirable artist for a stupid action utterly unrepresentative of the stage or its public".

The matter ended by Gilpin being invited to the dinner. He accepted the invitation and at the dinner, according to the *New York Times*, the feature of the evening was the ovation which he received, being cheered when he rose to speak, by nearly a thousand members of the Drama League who were in attendance, and being forced to respond to their plaudits a second time after he had finished his address. The *New York Evening Post* declared that Gilpin was "the most honored of the ten guests of honor".

Another proof that works of genius are recognized and approved by the white population even though the color of their author be black, is the movement recently inaugurated in Washington County in this state. Here certain well known and philanthropic gentlemen have organized an industrial school for the sons of foreign immigrants which is to be an exact duplication of the plan of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute fathered by that eminent negro educator, Booker T. Washington. Backed by the endorsement of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, these men are about to begin a campaign in this city for securing a million dollars for the purposes of the school.

There is a cynical saying that, "God helps those who help themselves." Even if this observation were true it could hardly apply to a race which less than sixty years ago was held in bondage. Nevertheless the negroes are helping themselves, and the best thought of the country, is lending a sympathetic encouragement.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin", the epic of life among the negroes in slavery days, by calling attention to the barbarity of the institution did much to bring about its abolition. Probably

another "Uncle Tom's Cabin" should be written giving an unbiased account of the life and characteristics of the negroes of the present day and describing any injustice which may be done them by the white race, in order that an already awakened public opinion may force a remedy. A clever romance of absorbing interest, called "The Shadow," by Mary White Ovington, has recently appeared which in a measure serves this purpose. It is the story of a white girl in the far South, who as a babe only a few days old, because of the blot on her birth, was cast off by her well-to-do and aristocratic grandparents, the act of killing their daughter, the child's mother, and left in the home of a poor negro Methodist preacher. The negroe's family took the babe to their hearts, treated her as one of their own, and carried her with them in their wanderings wherever their church organization ordered them to go. And the child grew up believing herself to be a negress, loving and cherishing and being loved and cherished by her black foster father and mother, and by the daughter and son of the couple, and sharing their joys and sorrow.

The author paints a vivid picture of the life of the modern negroes; their weaknesses and their strength are sketched; and the new sentiment of the whites toward them, as well as the old spirit of superiority and domination still entertained by many, are set forth in strong colors. All the best traits of the human character, kindness, disinterestedness, self-sacrifice are portrayed as appearing in the humble cabin of the negro preacher. The preacher's daughter, the eldest child of the family, is presented as a young woman of energy and resourcefulness educated in a negro college conducted by white women. On the death of her father she took up his work and organized a school for negroes. Out of her scanty means she sent her young white sister to a negro college which, like the institution of which she was a graduate, had white women teachers; and the girl grew up a refined and gentle-natured young woman.

The girl's grandfather died, and in his last moments, struck with remorse, acknowledged her, and made a will in which he left her a sum of money. It was then that the young woman learned of her origin, and that she belonged to the white race. Now the girl's foster relatives showed their Christian spirit; they rejoiced more than the girl herself, that she was the recognized scion of a prominent

white family, and advised her to put aside all thoughts of her life in the negro cabin and begin a new existence as a white person.

And she left her Southern home for the teeming North, with its wealth and its education, its pictured equality of justice and its beckoning opportunity. She stopped in New York, there to work out a career for herself among white people. But she never forgot those to whom she owed so much. Ever and anon her thoughts reverted to the village where she had lived since leaving school, to the beloved black people who remained there, to the winding river, the white sand, the live oaks, the pines, the cypresses, the flowers. She defended the negro race whenever the conversation turned on their alleged short-comings; and once when a crude young Southerner from Georgia, who was desperately in love with her, was particularly abusive of the people among whom she was reared, she turned fiercely on him, denying his statement and declared that he himself was "nothing but a cheap Georgia cracker." Her young black brother came to New York and she found him there at work, and she loved him as of old. One day he sought her out to inform her that his mother was dying. He saw her walking with the Georgian, and in his haste to tell her the sorrowful news, he touched her on the arm. The punishment for his temerity was to be struck down like a dog by the Southerner. Others joined in the attack on the negro boy. Beaten and kicked until he lay unconscious his foster sister only saved his life by declaring that she also was colored and that he was her brother.

She hurried South with her brother, and saw his mother die. Again she entered the white world, this time to be married to a young Southerner, her lover before she went North. Once more her self-sacrificing sister and brother effaced themselves and left their home and the village where thy lived, lest their presence in the neighborhood of their white sister might endanger her new position in the white world.

The war has caused a great shifting of the negro population. The demand for workmen in the industrial centers, and the high wages paid there was the incentive that caused the wholesale migration to more desirable places of residence. The South was the main sufferer and the North the gainer. In only a few other communities of the United States has the tide of color risen higher than in Pittsburgh. Here according to the census of 1920 there is a negro popula-

lation of 37,688, being an increase of 47.1 per cent since 1910. The white population is 550,301, the increase being only 8.3 per cent. This decade has also brought about an advance in the social and economic life of the negroes in Pittsburgh. Activities formerly closed to them have been thrown open; new ambitions have been aroused. They have been drawn into a new mental atmosphere, new channels of thought have developed, an ever increasing number are reading the daily newspapers, more books are being taken by them from the public libraries, more of their children are attending the high schools, the University of Pittsburgh, the Carnegie School of Technology. New leaders have arisen who are pointing the way to the possibilities of the negro race.

Newspapers have been established for them by men of their own race, and there are now two weekly newspapers published in Pittsburgh devoted to their interests, *The Pittsburgh Courier* which was founded in 1910, and *The Pittsburgh American*, the publication of which was begun in 1919. Both papers are edited by men who are either college graduates or attended schools of the higher order. The editor of *The Pittsburgh Courier* is Robert L. Vann who, while a Southerner by birth, is the product of Pittsburgh, having graduated from the Western University of Pennsylvania, now the University of Pittsburgh, as well as from the law department of the last named institution; and he is also a member of the Allegheny County bar, and one of the assistant city solicitors of Pittsburgh. The editorial conduct of *The Pittsburgh American* is in the hands of Robert F. Douglas and William P. Young. The first named was formerly a school teacher, and is a graduate of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute at Petersburg, Virginia, while the latter graduated from Lincoln University at Chester, Pennsylvania, and for some years has been Welfare worker for one of the large steel mills located in this district. And so far as can be observed neither of the papers are following in the train of Garvey, *The Pittsburgh Courier* on the contrary publishing only a few weeks ago, an article criticising certain phases of Garvey's movement.

An air of hopefulness pervades the columns of the two newspapers, and the condition and prospects of the negroes are set forth in glowing colors. The writers are staunch champions of the rights of the people of their race. They realize that an unusual amount of crime is prevalent at this time, but claim, at least by insinuation, that the negroes are

not more guilty, in proportion to their numbers, than the whites, and they resent the fact that whenever a negro is guilty of wrong-doing an account of his delinquency is blazoned forth in the daily newspapers in the boldest type and in the most conspicuous place in the paper. A few weeks ago two white women living in the borough of Wilkinsburg claimed to identify a certain negro as having attempted to assault them, and one of them seizing a pistol made an effort to shoot the negro while at the hearing before the Justice of the Peace. The man was spirited away by the officers in charge, as it was feared that his life was in danger, from the mob which had collected. He remained in jail until the day of the trial, when the women admitted that they had been mistaken, and that he was not the man who had wronged them. Here was an occasion for *The Pittsburgh Courier* to vent its wrath. In glaring headlines it set forth an account of the women's retraction and told of the injustice done the accused man.

The Pittsburgh American published an account of a brutal attack by two white men on a fourteen year old negro girl, the white miscreants being arrested, but receiving only comparatively light sentences, the intimation being that if a negro had been accused of committing such a crime against a white woman whether guilty or innocent, he would have at once been lynched. In almost every issue of the paper there are accounts of the lynching of negroes, and in one number there is a poem on the subject. Each verse contains a recital of some act of kindness done by negroes for whites, or of a wrong perpetrated by whites against negroes, the two following verses being characteristic of all:

"When the North came sweeping southward
Our freedom to proclaim,
We stayed home to shield your loved ones;
And you lynch us just the same.

"For the wrongs done in the Congo
Fair Belgium paid in shame;
You saw her sacked and ruined,
But you lynch us just the same."

The tone of injury and complaint disappears when the paper quotes from the sermon delivered by the Right Rev. Troy Beatty, coadjutor bishop of Tennessee, before a recent diocesan convention of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Tennessee, in which he said:

"There is no such thing as a color line in Christianity and the colored priest in our church stands before God on the same footing as the white priest. And we must show our Christianity to the Negro."

Reading matter of a somewhat different character is supplied to the negroes of Pittsburgh by *The Competitor*, a monthly magazine, now in its second year. The magazine, like *The Pittsburgh Courier*, is edited by Robert L. Vann. It is said to circulate in nearly every state of the Union. In its pages are detailed the ideals and aspirations of the negroes. The aims of the magazine are proclaimed in the salutatory.

"*The Competitor*" says the editor, "comes before the reading world in answer to a pressing need for a journal national in scope, constructive in policy and replete with matter calculated to inspire the race to its best efforts in everything American.____The negro____has caught the vision, and that vision must not be eclipsed through any failure of race leaders to lead in the right direction.______ Many are forsaking the older things for something new.____ They are taking journals, magazines, papers and tracts of all kind, and they are reading them.______ He is thinking less of his color and more of his country and its opportunities. He is analyzing things for his own information. He is getting away from superstitions and dreams, he is approaching facts with an anxiety that spells an awakening."

This salutatory appears to be an exemplification of the new creed of the people of color in Pittsburgh.

Among the contributors to the magazine are many of the leading men and women of color in the United States, and the best thought of the race is displayed in the writings and illustrations which appear in its pages. Also there are articles by white men and women. To the white reader the magazine opens a veritable mine of information regarding the activities of the negroes of the United States. In its pages we obtain a view of the colleges, the normal schools, the schools of economic and domestic science, the schools for nurses, in all of which the negro youth may obtain an education. There are pictures of the leaders of the colored race in every walk of life. We learn that the negroes have missionaries in Liberia, in Haiti, in South America; that there are negro business men who are conducting establishments of large proportions, that they conduct insurance

companies, that there are scientific farmers among them. We discover that in at least one state, Missouri, there is a negro Industrial Commission, appointed by the Governor in pursuance of an act of the legislature, the purpose being to devise means for the educational, moral and industrial betterment of the negroes; that there are leagues for teaching and developing business methods; that the Baptist negroes have a publishing house; that the negro women have a federation of women's clubs; that in the recent presidential campaign negro women took a leading part on the Republican side, in nearly every state in the Union; also that in conjunction with their white friends the negroes are conducting what they call the National Urban League, with branches in many of the larger cities of the United States, the object of which is to promote the social welfare of their race, by securing work for the unemployed, in improving living conditions, health, education, thrift.

In the magazine there are departments devoted to women, to health, to art, to music, to athletics, to base ball, to basket ball, to theatricals. Articles appear on sanitation. Not the least of the merit of the magazine lies in the character of its fiction. The poetry printed in its pages is more than mere jingle. An exquisite poem by the late Paul Lawrence Dunbar, the negro poet, which appears in one of the numbers of the magazines lends it a distinctive literary flavor and is worth reprinting.

A Death Song.

Lay me down beneaf de willers in de grass,
Whah de branch 'll go a-singin' as it pass;
  An' w'en I 's a-lying low,
  I kin hyeah it as it go,
Singin', "Sleep, my honey; tek yo' res 'at las'."

Lay me nigh to whah hit meks a little pool,
An' de watah stan' so quiet lak an' cool,
  Whah de little birds in spring
  Ust to come an' drink an' sing,
An' de chillen waded on dey way to school.

Let me settle w'en my shouldahs draps dey load
Nigh enough to hyeah de noises in de road;
  Fu' I t'ink de las' long res'
  Gwine to soothe my sperrit bes'
Ef I 's layin' 'mong de t'ings I 's allus knowed.

DAT LIL' BRACK SHEEP

BY

ETHEL M. COLSON*

Po' lil' brack sheep what strayed erway,
Done los' in de win' an' de rain;
An' de Shepherd he say: "O hirelin,'
Go fin' my sheep ergain."
An' de hirelin' frown: "O Shepherd,
Dat sheep is brack and bad."
But de Shepherd he smile laik dat lil' brack sheep
It de onlies' lam' he had.

An' he say: "O hirelin,' hasten!
For de win' and de rain am col,'
An' dat lil' brack sheep be lonesome
Out dere so far fum de fol',
An' de hirelin' frown: "O Shepherd,
Dat sheep is weak and po'."
But de Shepherd he smile laik dat lil' brack sheep
He lub it des' all de mo'.

An' he say: "O hirelin', hasten!
For de frost am' bitin' keen,
An' dat lil' brack sheep des shiv'rin',
De storm an' de blas' between."
An' de hirelin' frown: "O Shepherd,
Dat sheep is ol' an' gray."
But de Shepherd he smile laik dat lil' brack sheep
Wuz fair as de break ob day.

An' he say: "O hirelin' hasten!
For de hail am beatin' hard,
An' dat lil' brack sheep git bruises
'Way off fum de sheepfol' yard."
An' de hirelin' frown: "Oh Shepherd,
Dat sheep is mos' worn out."
But de Shepherd he smile laik dat lil' brack sheep
Des couldn't be done widout.

An' he say: "O hirelin', hasten!
For de winter is a'mos' here,
An' dat lil' brack sheep you shear it
'Till it's po' skin a'mos' clear."
An' de hirelin' frown: "O Shepherd,
Dat sheep am a wuthless thing."
But de Shepherd he smile laik dat lil' brack sheep
It fair ez a princely king.

An' he say: "O hirelin', hasten!
Lo, here dey ninety an' nine,
But dere, way off fum de sheepfol'
Dat lil' brack sheep ob mine."
An' de hirelin' frown: "O Shepherd,
De rest ob de sheep am here."
But de Shepherd he smile laik dat lil' brack sheep
He hol' it de most'es' dear.

An' he wander out dere in de darkness,
W'ere de night wuz col' an' bleak,
An' dat lil' brack sheep, he fin' it,
An' lay it ergains his cheek.
An' de hirelin' frown: "O Shepherd,
Dat sheep came back ter me!"
But de Shepherd, he smile laik de Lord he wuz—
An' dat lil' brack sheep am me!

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*The poem appeared anonymously in *The Independent* many years ago, and there was considerable controversy as to the authorship before the name of the writer became public. Charles A. Dana, a critic of distinction, pronounced it the finest American poem that had ever come under his observation.

OVER THE OLD ROADS TO PITTSBURGH

BY JOHN S. RITENOUR

Up to 1785 the Forbes military road had been used for traffic and travel between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. It had been constructed to follow as straight a line as possible, without regard to steepness of hills or anything of that sort, and therefore in the course of time it became unsatisfactory as a road for non-military uses. It was altogether too hard on horses and vehicles. So in 1785 the Assembly made provision for a new 60-foot road from the western part of Cumberland county to Pittsburgh, a distance of more than 100 miles, and appropriated $2,000 for the work—less than $20 a mile.

The surveying was done at once, and that part of the road east of Bedford was promptly approved in 1787. But it was not until May 26, 1790, that the survey for the part of the road between Bedford and Pittsburgh was sanctioned. It was opened to public use in 1791. This was known as the State road.

It passed over Laurel Ridge and the Alleghany mountains on a line almost parallel with the later turnpike. Pack horses were used chiefly in traversing its route; and it was during its existence that pack-horse transportation reached its highest point. Nothing much more than merely cutting away the trees had been done in its construction.

But still it was a valuable avenue of intercourse, and many thousands passed over it both ways before it fell into final disuse. A regular mail was carried over it by express riders in 1805. It was never piked, and except in dry seasons could not be used by vehicles. Much of the travel at that time back and forth between this city and Philadelphia, on both the State road and the succeeding turnpike, was done on foot. Covering 30 or more miles daily, a pedestrian could walk from one city to the other in 10 days, which was better time than the average pack horse made. Good inns were numerous along the route, and thus there was no lack of opportunities for food and shelter.

CARRIAGE A CURIOSITY.

The first carriage brought west of the mountains was by Col. Daniel Morgan, whom Congress had appointed Indian

agent in this section. The second carriage was brought in 1783, mainly over the Forbes road, by Dr. Schoepf, a German physician and naturalist. He wrote an account of his trip, published in Germany in 1788, in which he said his carriage was a very great curiosity among the inhabitants of Western Pennsylvania along his ride. It excited the wonder of the dwellers in lonely cabins along the road, as well as the lively curiosity of the people of Pittsburgh, where it was the principal object of interest.

"Many well-dressed gentlemen and highly adorned ladies came to the tavern to see it," he says.

In 1805-6 there was a regular line of primitive stages over the State road from Pittsburgh by way of Greensburg and Somerset to Chambersburg, there connecting with a stage route to Philadelphia. These carried the mail also, and to many Pittsburghers the line was a great convenience. A letter written in 1808 gives a traveler's diary of his ride from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh over this road, the most curious item of which is that, when he reached Greensburg court was in session, and "an elephant was on exhibition in the town," which was crowded.

The journal of Mrs. Mary Dewees, who came over the State road in 1787, on her way to Kentucky, says of her stop in Pittsburgh: "Called on Mrs. Col. Butler and saw a very handsome parlour, elegantly papered and well furnished."

Mrs. Dewees had undertaken water travel from what is now the site of McKeesport to Kentucky by a boat which, she writes, was 70 feet long. Her room was 6 x 12, with a comfortable fireplace, and a bedroom partitioned off by blankets, "which was far preferable to the conditons in the cabins after crossing the mountains. We are clear of fleas, by which we were almost devoured when on shore."

THEN THE TURNPIKE.

Of her departure from Pittsburgh Mrs. Dewees writes: "At 11 o'clock we dropped down the Ohio, and at a distance of a mile had a full view of Capt. O'Harra's summer house, which stands on the bank of the Allegheny river about 100 yards from the bottom of their garden. It is the finest situation I ever saw. They live in the upper end, or rather out of the town. Their house is in the midst of an orchard of 60 acres, the only one at the place, from the front of which they have a full view of the Monongahela and Ohio

rivers. At the close of the day we anchored at the lower point of McKees Rocks, under a large rock nearly 60 feet high having the appearance of just falling into the water."

The State road as an avenue of commerce with the east was followed by the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia turnpike, authorized by legislative act of February 24, 1806. The terminii were Pittsburgh and Harrisburg, the road already being in existence between Harrisburg and Philadelphia. It passed through Greensburg, Somerset, Bedford, Chambersburg, Carlisle, Harrisburg, York and Lancaster to Philadelphia.

Another law authorized the Northern turnpike from the east to Pittsburgh. It crossed the mountains from the Frankstown branch of the Juniata river to the Conemaugh river, and thence over Westmoreand county to Pittsburgh. It was opened for travel in 1819, and the route it followed was about that which was known earlier as the Frankstown road.

The rivalry between these two roads delayed the building of both, as at that period the construction of one was about as much as the state should have undertaken. A statute providing generally for turnpikes had existed from 1811, authorizing the governor to subscribe $300,000 to the stock of any turnpike company that should itself have raised $150,000. It was the anxiety chiefly to get this state subscription that caused the unfortunate rivalry between the two companies that were building turnpikes to Pittsburgh, thus holding up the progress of the work. A committee finally named to decide which was the better of the two routes went over both and favored the southernmost. Popular subscriptions were received all along the line. The turnpike was finally completed in its entirety in 1817-18, although it had been used here and there in sections for more than a year.

A FAILURE FINANCIALLY.

It was a toll road, of course, and at each toll house was a pike or pole, swung across the road, to stop traffic. When a traveler paid his toll the pike was lifted and he could go on. This gave rise to the name "turnpike." These tolls were designed, of course, to provide dividends for the stockholders, but there never were any dividends. The state's shares passed eventually to the ownership of private individuals, and at last by an act of 1879, the burden of main-

taining the road was put upon the townships through which it passed.

This turnpike was well and carefully built, notwithstanding but $450,000 was spent on its 200 miles, or $2,250 a mile. It was 25 feet wide, with arched stone bridges of masonry over creeks and rivulets, and many of these are still in good condition. The bottom of the road consisted of large stones, laid according to the Telford plan, with a top covering of smaller stones, of blue rock and lime, the entire thickness of stone being about a foot and a half.

This thoroughness of construction and the magnitude of travel over the road thoroughly impressed everyone with the idea of permanence, and hence the population fast increased all along the route. Many prosperous towns and villages sprang up. Houses of stone and brick were constructed, many of which are still in use and most comfortable.

The traffic over this turnpike was very heavy. Forty-three miles east of Pittsburgh, on Chestnut ridge, the gatekeeper reported that the traffic of a year, ending May 31, 1818, which was the first year after the completion of the road, amounted to this:

Single horses	7,112
One-horse vehicles	350
Two-horse vehicles	501
Three-horse vehicles	105
Four-horse vehicles	281
Five-horse vehicles	2,412
Six-horse vehicles	2,696
One-horse sleighs	38
Two-horse sleighs and sleds	201
Total in horses	38,599

On some days as many as 90 wagons passed through one of the toll gates not far from Pittsburgh. Droves of horses, cattle, sheep and hogs went over the road to Philadelphia and Baltimore. The west raised more live stock than it needed, and the only place to market it was in the east, where it always commanded cash. A herd of cattle numbered about 150; sheep from 600 to 1,000; horses 20 to 100. When a drover put up his cattle for the night anywhere on the pike he paid 3 cents a head for their pasture. They traveled from 10 to 12 miles daily, sheep about the same, horses more, hogs 8 to 10 miles.

THE CONESTOGA WAGON

A day's journey for a wagoner with a load averaged 20 miles. He drove what was called a Conestoga wagon, whose bed was low in the center and high at each end. Over the bed were bows covered with canvas. The lower part of the bed was often painted blue and the upper part red. The canvas being white, the entire outfit made the national colors. Many teamsters were very proud of the jingling pear-shaped bells on a bow over the necks of their horses. The word "stogie," describing a popular cheap cigar, is said to be derived from "Conestoga," because it was at first home-made from home-grown tobacco, and being cheap and satisfactory became much in vogue among teamsters. From being a "Conestoga cigar" it became a "stogie." Whisky was plentiful everywhere along the pike, and any one who thirsted for it could quaff all he wanted at three cents a quaff.

It took 56 hours to go from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia by coach, and the traveler was expected to snatch such sleep as he could get in the coach while on the way. The fare was $20; sometimes less, when the rivalry between the competing lines got sharp. For short distances the fare was 8 cents a mile. About every 50 miles coaches were changed, the heavier ones being used on the mountain ridges between Ligonier and Chambersburg and the lighter ones on the levels.

The United States mail line, which carried the mail, and the People's Line, later changed to the Good Intent, were the names of the early companies that ran stages over the turnpike. Two coaches left daily and two arrived. The first to depart in the morning left at 5 or 6 o'clock, and by 10 o'clock was at Greensburg, three relays of horses having been employed. Two hours later Ligonier was reached for dinner; distance, 50 miles. The end of the next 50 miles was Bedford, but the time required to reach that place was greater, because two mountain ridges had to be climbed. The schedule of arrivals and departures all along the route was generally faithfully met, and travelers from Pittsburgh could safely rely on reaching Philadelphia in 56 hours. On the eastern end of the pike, where travel was greater, there were more than two stage lines.

RATES OF TOLL

These stages were often driven at the rate of ten miles an hour, but the usual speed was six to eight miles. There were relays every ten or a dozen miles, when new horses were put in, and these replaced in turn with fresh ones at the next station. No stops were made day or night except at relays, postoffices and taverns.

From Pittsburgh to Philadelphia the toll for a narrow-wheeled wagon and six horses was $29.30; for a broad-wheeled wagon and six horses, $19.20. The distinction was due to the difference in size of wheels. A broad-wheeled vehicle did not cut the pike as much as one with narrow tires.

The coaches were accounted comfortable vehicles of travel, being trimmed, painted and ornamented in fine style. Coach trimmers and painters in those days were artists. When a stage came from their hands its exterior was elegantly and tastefully decorated. The interior cushions and backs were upholstered in leather or plush. There were three seats, each of which would hold three passengers. Beside the driver was a seat, which in fine weather was regarded as the most desirable in the conveyance. On top of the stage, around which was a light iron guard about a foot high, others could sit if they did not mind some discomfort. When passengers were urgent a stage would sometimes accommodate 15, albeit it was designed for but 10, in addition to the driver.

The construction of the vehicle made comparatively easy riding. The body swung on leather supports, called thorough-braces, suspended from jacks on the front and rear axles. There were no springs. At the rear was a "boot" for carrying passengers' baggage. The mail bags were usually under the driver's seat.

The horses for this service were selected with care, regard being had for strength, speed and endurance, as well as for form and showiness. The stronger animals were used in the hill country. The breeds, from which they generally sprung, all now extinct, were the Murat, Winflower, North Star and Hickory.

ENJOYABLE TRAVELING THEN.

The environment of these rides—the splendid vehicle, the dashing horses, the varying scenery, the stops for meals at fine country taverns, the anecdotes of drivers and the

notes of their horns, the speed contests between rivals, the long lines of teamsters with freight wagons, the shifting panorama of lively traffic all along the road—made a journey on the old turnpike one of the most enjoyable episodes in life. But all this passed into history when the locomotive pushed its way to the forks of the Ohio. There is no more beautiful road in the country than the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia turnpike, and it must have been a charm and a delight, indeed, to the many thousands who passed over it on foot and in vehicles.

The carrying out of Henry Clay's idea of a National pike from Cumberland, on the Potomac river, through Somerset, Fayette and Washington counties, Pennsylvania, to Wheeling, and then on through Ohio to Indiana and Illinois, aroused great opposition in Pittsburgh because it was believed, and rightly, that the construction of this road would damage the trade and traffic of Pittsburgh. Results proved this to be the case. It diverted to Wheeling and Baltimore trade from the southwest that would have passed through this city, and thus justified the opposition which the project received from Henry Baldwin, who represented this county in Congress during the early stages of the scheme. The city sent all kinds of remonstrances to Washington against the construction of the national pike. Hostile meetings were held. But the road was built, all the same, and Wheeling thought "finis" had been written to the development of Pittsburgh. An editor of the time printed in his Wheeling paper:

"Poor old Pittsburgh! Your day is over. The scepter of influence and wealth is to travel to us."

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

In time the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia turnpike succumbed to the canal, and the canal in its turn to the railroad. So the successive routes of transportation from Pittsburgh to the east have been in their order as follows: The Forbes road, the State road, the Turnpike, the canal and the railroad. To the latter will no doubt be added, after awhile, a road for automobiles, to transport both freight and passengers either for long hauls or short hauls, and maybe for both. Who can tell now? Auto transportation is in its infancy. Robert Fulton was pronounced crazy when he declared in Pittsburgh in 1811 that some day carriages would be drawn by steam power over the mountains. And long before that

Shakespeare had written, "There are stranger things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamed of in our philosophy." In the light of the achievements of modern invention no one would dare predict now what the future holds for the auto-carriage when the people have made roads good everywhere.

About 1850, when timber was very plentiful, the building of plank roads got to be quite a fad in this region. Three sleepers of plank 12 to 14 feet long were laid lengthwise. Lumber was so abundant and cheap, and labor likewise, that roads, which were toll roads, of course, were thought to be good investments for capital not otherwise engaged. For awhile this made a fine road, but at last sun and water warped the timbers, and in the end a plank road got to be looked upon as a thing of scorn—nothing meaner for travel. Planks were pulled out and left along the road sides.

The first plank road in this locality was built in 1849, seven miles long, from the head of Federal street, Allegheny, to within a mile of Perrysville. Another was built at the same time between Allegheny and Butler. One in 1851 to Braddock. Others were the Temperanceville and Noblestown road, the Allegheny and Manchester road, the New Brighton road, one through East Liberty north to Apollo, and the longest of all from Pittsburgh up the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers to West Newton, and from there across Westmoreland and Somerset counties to join the National pike at Cumberland.

PETITION ADDRESSED TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA ASKING FOR THE CREATION OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY

To the Honourable The Representatives Of The Freemen Of The Commonwealth Of Pennsylvania In General Assembly Met. The petition of sundry inhabitants of the Counties of Westmoreland and Washington

Humbly sheweth that your Petitioners have seen the Bill published for consideration entituled, "An Act for erecting part of Westmoreland and Washington Counties into a seperate county." We are pleased to find the honourable house have given time to those Inhabitants who wish to be included in the new county, to make their sentiments and situation known to the house upon this subject. Your petitioners conceive by the limits specified in the before mentioned bill your honours were not so well acquainted with the situation of the Country adjacent to Pittsburgh as to fix the bounds which ought to designate the new county with that precision the importance of the subject requires, and as we are unanimously of an opinion your honours wish to lay out the county so (torn) make the same convenient to its Inhabitants and without injuring either Washington or Westmoreland Counties. Your petitioners with due submission beg leave to give your honours information of what we humbly conceive to be the proper bounds of the new County VIZ BEGINNING at the mouth of Racoon Creek where it empties into the Ohio, thence up the middle of the said creek to White's Mill, thence along a new cut road to Armstrong's Mill on Miller's Run, thence in a direct line to the mouth Mingoe Creek where it empties into the Monongahela River, thence up the middle of said River to the line of Fayette County, thence along said line to the mouth of Jacob's creek on Youghioganey river, thence in a direct line to Cavet's Mill on Brush creek, from thence a direct line to where Forbes' old road crosses Turtle creek and from thence a direct line to the mouth of the Kiskamenitis where it empties into the Allegany river, thence up to the middle of said River to the line of Northumberland county at the mouth of the Conowago river, thence up the middle of said River to the Northern boundary of this state.

If the said river shall extend so far and if not then from the said River to a line due north to the said Northern boundary, thence along the said Northern boundary westward to the Western boundary of this state thence down the said boundary southerly to the Ohio river aforesaid thence up the middle of the said River to the place of beginning. The above described bounds will give general satisfaction to every Inhabitant in the two Counties, excepting a few interested persons and those who make it their business to object to every measure for the public good, besides it will be much nigher and more convenient for every person living within the before mentioned bounds to go to Pittsburgh to Courts or market than to Washington or Greensborough, having the advantage of the different waters leading to Pittsburgh to transport ourselves and produce. At the same time we are obliged to attend Courts of justice either as suitors, jurors, or witnesses, we can carry our produce with us, with which we can pay our court charges and Tavernkeepers Bills, and also procure such necessaries as we want for the use of our families. This a matter of great importance to us who at present are labouring under many difficulties for the want of Cash to patent our Lands and pay our Taxes. Your petitioners humbly conceive that the laying off a county with respectable bounds will greatly advantage the inhabitants of the three counties, the greater number of Inhabitants in a county makes the county town the Richer. This induces persons of wealth to Become citizens, and consequently a greater consumption of produce. *Pittsburgh* the Capital of the western country is intended by nature for a place of consequence from its situation at the confluence of two large Rivers that glide through an extensive and fertile country. This will induce a great number of persons

(mutilated) it, it will also increase the value of all the lands within the reach of that market, and also bring forward at an earlier period the sale of the state lands, and the settlement of that part of the country northward of Pittsburgh. Your petitioners humbly conceive that it is the intention of your honours to accomodate the Inhabitants of the new county with such bounds as will make it more convenient for them to attend the courts of justice at Pittsburgh than at any other place, and we are happy to inform your honours that everyone residing within the before mentioned bounds will find it more convenient to go to Pittsburgh than

to any other place. Your petitioners beg leave to inform your honours that we do not mean to dictate to the honorable House, when we mention the bounds, but only as matter of information, and this we have thought incumbent on us as the persons who are immediately concerned in the consequences that are to ensue from the determination of the house. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your honours would be pleased to enact a law for erecting a part of Westmoreland and a part of Washington counties into a seperate county upon the principles of liberality and justice and your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray etc.
Westmoreland, February 15th, 1787.

John Ormsby
Samuel Barr
Isaac Craig
Robert Galbraith
Geo. Adams
Rich.d Butler
Geo: Thompson
Wm. Tilton
Hugh Ross
John Scull
Jno. Gibson
David Duncan
John Boyd
Wm. Butler
Jno. Wilkins
Jn: Finley
Stepn Bayard
Geo. Wallace
Wm. Greenough
Nathl. Bedford
A. Fowler
John Brown
Geo. Cochran
Wm. Weisthoff
Adam Sharp
Nehemiah Sharp
John Clark
William Sutton
Bart. Harvey
Samuel Kerr
Adam Waltr
Stephen Cisna
James Scott
Josiah Wynn
Wm. Roseberry
Stephen Cranford
Tho. Jackson
Fauntley Muse
Joseph Philips
Jno. Richardson
Jno. Stokes
Tho. Carter
John Canter
Wm. Cassaday
John Persons
Ezek. Shelkint
Wm. Cecil
Wm. Hawking
George Fraser
Dinnis Feris
Elias Williams
Hugh Hofferman
David Coventry
Wm. McDonald
Johan Rukert
Henry Taylor
Matthew Phoenix
Frederick Retkain
John Ward
Jos. Ashton
Jno. Ward
James Morrison
And. Jeffries
James Grant
Joseph Lowry
Wm. MacMillan
Tho. Hill
Thomas McGinney
Wm. Christofor
P. Murphy
Robert Bratherton
Hugh C. Seeley
Wm. Collins
John Collins
Wm. Lettemy
Wm. Evarts
Joseph Newton
John Bailery
Robart Brotherton
Charles Richards
J. S. Monceau de Brugealt
Philip Eberhart
John Goeer
Benjamin Richards

Gorg Altman
Peter his mark Allon
John Dehuff
John Walton
John Craig
John McClure
Jas. Munrou
John his mark Gordon
Edward Murphy
John Brackney
James Martin
Jas. Beaty
Arthur Withney
Daniel Showhan
John Kennedy
William Kennedy
William Reno
John Kerr
Jas. McDermat
Jas. Richardson
Thomas Williams
Alexr. Long
Daniel Herbert
Martin McKean
Henry Hurst
James (undecipharable)
James Stewart
Robt. Johnson
Henry Meddleswart
Obediah Holmes
Robert Shawhan
Jno. Saviers
Andw. Mitchell
Isaac McMichael
John McMichael
Adam Keller
John Phillips
John Nisbett
Bartholomew Dinnis
Joseph McDowell
Thomas Lownsdale
Jacob Wyant Junr.
Thos. B. Patterson
Charles Smith
Alexander Swan
William Long
Jno. Wallace
Daniel Keisther
Nathaniel Patterson
Robert Thompson
Jas. Hamilton
John McKee
Michael Keisther
John Boggs
Thos. Lapoley
James McKinney
John Wilson
Oliver Elliot
James Muller

Joshua Long
James Buody
Eadward Coile
William Studart
James Erwin
David Kennedy
Henery Shever
Robt. Bryarly
James Rutherford
John Johnston
John Scott
Dunning McNair
Peter Parchment
William Heppner
Saml. Sinclair
James Reed
John Smith
Jacob Hook
James Patten
John Denney
William Orbito
James Henry
Joseph Luistarel
Robert Ramage
James Reed
William Sutton
Thomas Ramage
Thomas Wilson
James Burns
Isaac Bennet
John Tradle
James Casey
James Flacanaghan
Jacob Dixon
Bartholomy Garry
Samuel Sample
Hanes Daussman
Wm. Reed
Abraham Stallions
Geo. Kelly
John Stille
Edward Pall
Thos. Craig
James Wallace
John Bever
*( ) Crawford
John Gallaher
James Gray
*( ) McMillan
P. Tannehill
John Hardrin
Jos. Tannehill
Robert Patteson
John Patterson
Cha. Wilkins
John Warner
David Boies
John Rammage
George Sipes

*Original torn.

James (his mark) Reed
William Richey
Petter Cuthwright
Robert McFarland
James Williamson
Arthur Gardner
Jame. Littell
John McElland
John Collons
Alex. Mc.Cadams
Nathaniel Points
Nick Welsh
Geo. Mitchell
Jno. Meek
Timothy Keen
Ephraim Herriott
George Herriott
Allen Boys
Jas. (his mark) Miller
Jost Weibel
Me. Lacasiagne
John Dunning
John Gill
Thomas Gorham, Jr.
Gorg Bromaugh
Nathaniel Cotton
Jas. Thompson
Edw. Thompson
Jno. McGruger
Francis McElwain
William Thompson
Peter Rockafellar
James Hillman
Christian Maurer
Jacob Meyers
Alexander Dunlap
Henry Edwarts
Johannes Bernhart
John Martin
John Clemmens
Elaxander McCaullester
Adam Laten
Wm. McMillen
Johan Georg Lichtenberger
Christoph McMahon?
Eng. Wilkeson
Andreas Trukenbrott
Wm. Boniface
Lang McClara
Adam Matter
John Barr
William Boon
James Farrel
James Fleming
William Funk
Samuel Ferguson
Wc. McCoy
Jas. Dinsmoore
Hugh Knox

Daniel Craig
John Armstrong
Adam Funk
George Fay
Hugh Rippey
Johann Grun
William Jones
Leaven Phillips
Wilhelm Graff
Matthew Deery
Mark Deery
John Dobin
Hugh Gardner
John Cowan
James Gill
Nobel Wilkin
Roger Sweeney
Richard Spence
Jno. Gibson
Jas. Gibson
John Patterson
Joseph Patterson
David Updegraff
Daved Saven
James Williamson
Joh Giben
Samuel Colhoun
Andrew Watson
William Watson
William Rodman
Tho. Martin
James Seal
Denis O Bryan
Robert Burns
Jams Banden
Josef Reed
Saml. Todd
Ebenezer Gallohar
Amos Wilson
Wm. Stall
Michl. Brown
Richard Sparrow
John Ball
William Tiddball
John Clifford
Benj. Kuykendale
Nicholas Bausman
Alex Steel
John Metzger
John Meckcleman
James Bevard
George Adams
Joseph Mcollogh
Robt. Snotgrass
Saml. Blackmore
Charles Allison
Thomas Redmon
Thos. Neilly
William Fife

John Ross
George Justus
Jno. Henry
William Boggs
Samuel Barbur
David Fulton
John Lewis Dupeintheavre
William Sanderson
Jacob Ferree
John McLaughlin
Jacob Miller
William Wightman
Simon Fletcher
John McDowel
David Calhoon
Henry Shavin
John Powel
James Elliott
John Small
Augustin Leibhart
James Coelter
John Forgey
Saml. SinClair Junr.
Samul Glass
Andrew Patterson
Mabray Evans
Andw. McClure
William McKee
Wm. McGill
John Elliot
Matthew Wigfield
Thomas Frauni
Henry Reichard
Thomas Hamilton
Hugh Davidson
William Hamilton
Thomas Murdoch
Hams Murdock
Ebenezer Magoffin
John Kerlisle
Frances Willson
Benjamin Bennit Juner
Benjamin Bennit
Samuel Tailor
Thos. Sands
Hugh McDannall
Stephen Gruner
John Williams
Jno. Carnaghan
John Crowder
Abraham Bennett
Geo. McCully
Nat. Irish
Tho. Marten
Wm. Ryan
James Ryan
Saml. Crage
Steward Wilkins
Jams. Willis

Wm. Wilkins
Thomas Ross
James Ross
John Armstrong
Robt. McMahon
Henry Spicer
Joseph Hunter
Charles Duke
James Ilarosh
Micl. MsAlhaney
Michael Lackgaejagne
Thos. Morten
Richard Sparrow
Charles Durkin
Marmoduke Lochtin
John Smith
*( ) Turck
*( ) McDonald
*( ) eny
*( ) Trotten
*( ) amelon
*( ) Selly
*( ) MacDonald
*( ) Betty
*( ) English
*( )
*( ) Migllan
*( ) McCrary
*( ) Crary
*( ) Brothers
Charles Darner
Richard Flocks
Mathias Broker
William McCoy
Jacob Wise
William Hall
John Morrison
John McNall
Caspear Bowman
Jno. Williams
Jno. Grubbs
Ehli Power
William Lowrey
John Leeth
James Reed
Welden Reagen
Saml. McKay
Abdiel McLure
William Black
Charles Duke
Petter McAcheney
Daniel McDonald
Isaac Young
John Waltor
James Chambers, H. Constable
Isaac Whitaker
Jas. Whitaker
Aaron Whiteker
Jno. Clevedance

*Original torn.

Charls Morgan
Thomas Fisher
Thomas McKuntzer
Geo. Bowers
Thomas Daugherty
James Daugherty
Robert Jackson
John Marie
Tho. Garvin
Jno. Irwin
Wm. Irwin
Jacob Stone
Philip Everhart
Dinnis Kenedy
Alexr. Fife
Robt. Phillip
Isaac Morton
William Hibbs
James Smith
Mich McChristey
Wm. Clererichs
Thos. Wilkins
Saml. Duncan
Ezekiel Boggs
Morris Melone
John Tinny
Allex Downie
Jos. Gardner
William Gill
Patrick Riley
John McClure
Abraham Pyott
Wm. Wilson
Jacob Springer
Geo. Wallace Junr.
Edward Smith
Joseph Couch
Thos. Parker
Andw. Boggs
Wm. Driver
Wm. Chadwick
Thomas Greenough
Devereux Smith
Owen Newman
Wm. Amberson
Saml. Sample
Jaos Colhoon
Joseph Gelln
Alexander Nagely
Thomas Chambers
Alexd. McNickell
James Lucky
David White
David Watson
Willm. Story
Benjamin Chambers
Wm. Christy, Jr.
Jno. Robinson
H. Readmarg
Henry Ewalt
Henry Hoglin
Jacob (his mark) Dixon
James Mellen
Abner McMahan
David Dunfield
Martin Cox
James Semple
Geo. Burns
David Leviston
Thomas Watson
James Hearns
John Hays
Robt. Wilson
Andrew MCausland
John Kinkaid
Thos. Scott
Alexander Watson
Jacob Haymaker
James Kelly
Benjamin Vanderslice
John Millikin
James Kennedy
William Baughan
James McMalluem
David Kennedy
Henry Wolf
John Stewart
Joseph Kerr
James Kennedy
Thomas Hogg
Joseph McDermutt
Isaac Miller
William Davidson
John Stees
John Neel
Abednego Davidson
John Patch
John Carr
William Black
John Kinkead
Robert McKee
James McPherson
Robert Henderson
Henry Wood
Sanders Snoodgrass
James Snoodgrass
William McLaughlin
Waidlock Neges
Thomas Finney
Saml. Cunningham
John Shields
Thos. Dunlap
John Laudbough
William Powell
Joshua Davidson
William Reed
James Turk
Alexr. Barr (his mark)
Wm. Daugherty
Sal. Young.

John Miller
James Patton
Robert Berken
Ebenezer Patton
David Hill Senr.
Mikle Strain
Samuel Hill
David Hill
James Rice
Clemens Rice
Daniel Roberts
William Murphy
Jno. Murphy
Patrick McDaneld
Abraham Dean
Samuel Bar
Hugh Quigley
George Bowers
Jno. Rice
William Deen
Jno. Bare
Samuel Barr
Jno. Breckeney
Mathias Breckeney
Robt. Barr
Dal. Lenerd
Robt. Lenerd
David Crutchson
Drenkin Rubsin
Jams. Norish
Isiah Ryan
Samuel McNear
Benjamin Kyzar
Arthur Brown
James Bows
Jacob (his mark) Burkheart
William Black
Thomas Black
Thomas Davidson
Henry Fisher
Robert Black
James Cameron
John McFall
§ Lemon
John (his mark) McDonald
John Cameron
Alexander McDonald
Hennery Small
Henry McElener
James Thompson
Thomas Christy
Hennery Kincaid
William McFarrick
Timothy Bunderskull
John Titus
David Betty
John Walter
James Chambers
William Willson
Charles Willson
Henry McMin
John Edward
Matthew Mcormal
John Jacks
James Wilson
John Duffy
William Broday
Murdeah McLoud
Daniel Grahams
James Willson
Wm. Wilkinson
Nichs. Neil
Matthew Willson
James Colhon
John Saynts
James Lawless
Wm. Irwin
Dinnis Kennedy
John Innes
Saml. Morison
John Reed
Samuel Shreve
Isreal Moorcroft
John Glass
Michel (his mark) McChristhe
Hugh Sterling
Adam Funk
Patrick McFarlen
John Miller
Benjamin Wilson
Robert Shanehan
Isaac Williams
William Redman
George Sill
Jos. Fisher
Isaac Drewmore
Samuel Calhoun
John Smallshott
Frederick Clevedence
William Dick
Willm. Earl
John Boggs
James Robertson
John Plash
Isack McBrice
John Wilson
Thos. Hilldrooth
Robt. Calhoon
Joseph Thornell
Oliver Ormsby
Robt. Thompson
Charles Morgan
Robt. Heaton
Jessie Kirkpatrick
James Pride
Charles Matthews

§In the original the name Lemon appears under the name McFall as is indicated.

Borg. Lippincott
Jonathan Pew
John Shinn
John DeHuff
George Merton
John St. Clair
Daniel McHenry
John Orr
Frederick Byerly
David Morris
Willm. Ludly
Peter Gainer
Jno. Johnston
Mickl. Arclebee
John Housheton
Thos. Wylie
Robt. Hawthorn
Robert Templeton
Robert Cerney
John Connor
James Scott
Thomas Scott
David Scott
Rodrick Fraser
Richard Sparrow
Wm. Clark
Wm. Braden
Joseph Wearholds
Andrew Simons
Edward Watson
James Horner
William Carr
James Hawthorn
Reynard Smith
Andrew Robertson
Jas. Robinson
William Freeman
Simon Small
Philip Fronts
John McCollogh
Rob. (his mark) McGinnes
Benjamin Powell
James Powell
John McKeen
Amos Gristin
James McKeen
Johannes Zartner
Jas. Myar
Robt. Henderson
Arthur Boorns
James Boorns
Patrick Moore
John Thompson
Robert Kinnidy
Danl Carmichael
John Carmichael
Maekel Barckman
Alexander Carson
William Carson
Isaac Williams
John Frew
Thos. Williams
John Williams
Wm. Williams
Alexander Frew
John Boyd
Zac. Burden
John Carle
Isaac Lane
George Gaunce
Joseph Robinson
James Calwell
Patrick Armer
Hackai Sliden
William Wilson
William Daugherty
Jobe Hardy
John Hill
Mat. Hurley
John Barr
John McCormick
Joseph Currey
Thos. Horsfiel
Conrad Neubeidel?
William Boggs
Christian Harseoh
George Evans
Daniel Shewhen
Jno. Shaver
James Finney
William Finney
Hugh McCoy
Francis Kirkpatrick
James Thompson
William Barr
James Richardson
Robert Sanders
John Dull
Joshua Meeks
John Meeks
John Phrdy
William Boyd
Alexander Spiars
Robert Lyons
John Evans
John Morgan
John Ormsby Junr.
Jacob Haymaker Junr.
Charles Brooks
John Willson
Isaac Walker
Robert Holms
Isaac Israel
Robard Hall
Steeven Hol
James Hol
William Holl
John McBride
James Biars
Geeden Miler Junr.

Geeden Miler
Robt. Miler
Robt. Hain
Robt. Hutchuson
William Rast
John McEbeen
Edward McClaughlon
Seth Bryan
Ben Clenenger
William Roberts
Anthony Evens
Samuel Hulen
Samuel Garety
Danel Swany
Jas. Wilkinson
Wm. Asqua
Sam. Martain
James Martain
James Cissna
Eliru Powell
Jas. Anderson
Thomas McKee
James Huey
James Fisher
James Thomson
Samuel McClure
Samuel Ev(ans)?
James Guffy
John McLean
Danl Britt
Edw. Ward
Thos. Gibson
Jno. Lockart
Wm. Duurragh
Wm. Christey
Archd. Reid
James Carr
Charles Bell
Charles Forgu
Jas. McLelland
Pattrick McCartney
Thos. Sampson
Isac McConel
Willm. White
Hugh Nichehole
William Powell
James Wilson

THE PILGRIMS IN AMERICA

BY

DR. SAMUEL B. McCORMICK*

The basic facts upon which rest all the books which have been written concerning the Pilgrims in England, in Holland, and in America, are found in Bradford's "History of the Plymouth Plantation." Every American who cares for his country's history and for his country's future should have some knowledge of these facts. While it is not possible for me to dwell at length upon them this evening, and not desirable if it were possible, yet it is proper to review them briefly in order to understand the historical significance of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth three centuries ago.

I. The Pilgrims in England and in Holland.

The Reformation in Europe in the Sixteenth Century was an epoch in human history. The posting by Luther of the ninety-five theses on the door of the church at Wittenberg in 1517 furnishes a convenient starting point of this great movement, in process many years before and carried on to completion in many years following. The names of Luther and Melancthon, of Erasmus and Zwingli, of Calvin and Knox, together with many others only slightly less familiar, are synonomous with the Reformation. No matter what may be the opinion of any individual regarding the movement, or regarding the character and personalty of any one of the reformers, the movement itself was a tremendous upheaval in both government, society and church, out of which have come conditions governmental, ecclesiastical, educational and social which prevail today. The leaders in this movement were men of marked individuality, both in intellect and in conviction, and the people who followed these leaders out of the Roman Church to form what has ever since been called the Protestant Church, were men of like intellectual and moral conviction. It was inevitable that there should come not only a Protestant Church, but that

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*Address delivered before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on December 7, 1920.

the very fidelity to conscience which gave these men their power should also result in a splitting up of the Protestant Church into many opposing and warring denominations. The very thing which made the Reformation possible was the thing also which made denominations inevitable. However much we might wish today that these denominations should now come together to form a united Protestant Church, we recognize the fact that as long as these convictions, which are often-times convictions regarding non-essentials, actually continue, it will be difficult to unite sects and groups into one compact and highly organized Protestant Church.

In England the situation which was general throughout Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands, was even more pronounced. The new liturgy adopted in England almost necessarily contained much of what had been familiar in the Roman Church. While this was both natural and harmless, it was certain that the intensity with which men accepted the new faith should make them critical of anything which savored of what they called Popery, and therefore, for them, these things became anathema. As always happens, some of the men who objected to these remnants of Catholicism were content to utter their protest within the body of the established church. Others of them felt that they could not continue conscientiously within the church, and separated themselves, therefore, from it. The one party were known as Puritans, and the second party we know as Separatists—and later as Pilgrims.

As we may fix the beginning of the Reformation in 1517, although it actually began long before, so we may fix the beginning of this Puritan movement in the Act of Uniformity, passed by the English Parliament in 1559, one year after the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

Professor Davis S. Schaff, of our Western Theological Seminary, in an interesting article on "The Pilgrims—Their Spiritual Ancestry and Descendants," published in the Presbyterian Banner of November 18, explains quite clearly the significance of this Act of Uniformity, and its effect upon the development of the church in England.

Queen Elizabeth would tolerate no opposition, even though many of the bishops, including her favorites, were against her. Her personal popularity, her intellectual vigor, and the success of her reign enabled her to carry out her

will almost completely. Ministers who refused on the Sabbath to use the exact service prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer were, on the second offense, suspended from the ministry, and on the third, imprisoned for life. Even to speak slightingly of the Book, if persisted in, involved the forfeiture of their goods. It was inevitable, because of the character and highly developed conscience of many of the Protestants, that they should protest vigorously against such high-handed procedure, and a large group of people so protesting became known as the Puritans.

Things moved along until the accession of James VI of Scotland, (James I of England), who not only approved of everything which had been done in the preceding reign, but who heaped ridicule as well as reproaches upon the men in the church who insisted upon thinking for themselves, and upon obeying the dictates of their conscience.

It is unnecessary in this place to follow the streams of dissent. One, Presbyterian, which finally got control in England at the Westminister Assembly, 1643-1648, and the other called Independency in England and known in this country as Congregationalism, both trod a rough and rugged road in England, with the rise of even other denominations, chiefly the Methodists, Baptists, etc., have still to fight for proper recognition in the face of the Established Church.

The little group of Independents, known to us as Pilgrims, had a still more difficult road to travel. Separating themselves from the church as they did, they were subject to every form of espionage, compelled to worship in secret and to endure every form of persecution. The center of these was in that part of England in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, chiefly in the towns of Gainesboro, Austerfield, Bawtry, Scrooby and Babworth. Governor Bradford was born at Austerfield, only a mile from Bawtry, which is on the Great Northern Railway, 150 miles from London. The Pilgrim church may be said to have been born at Scrooby, a mile south of Austerfield. Its founder was Elder William Brewster. The names of Brewster and Bradford figure largely, not only in the beginning in the region of Scrooby, but also in Holland and in America.

William Bradford, yeoman, withdrew from the Established Church at Austerfield because he could not conscientiously remain. He was baptised by Rev. Henry Fletcher about 1590. He was only 17 when the church decided to

move to Holland. By the law of 1598 such migration was forbidden. Several attempts were made to leave secretly, but were frustrated. In 1608 the attempt was partially successful, though only a part of those ready to embark actually got on board. The rest were dispersed. One by one, however, they followed, until a goodly number had reached the land of refuge.

Rev. Richard Clyfton and Rev. John Smith, both Cambridge men, were in charge of the congregations in England. Mr. Smith became the pastor at Amsterdam, where dissentions broke out, and where we need not follow. The first gathering place was in Amsterdam, but doubtless because of these dissentions, a group of constantly increasing size came to the historic city of Leyden. There they settled; there they established their homes; there they established their church, and there John Robinson ministered to them. These were largely, perhaps almost wholly, Scrooby people.

We need not spend much time in describing the twelve years of the Pilgrims in Holland. There, after some arrests in the beginning at the instance of England, they enjoyed perfect freedom and perfect security. They were industrious, and they added to the industrial wealth of their adopted country. Holland was the one country of Europe at that time in which religious liberty was nearly perfect. If this had been all the Pilgrims desired, doubtless there they would have remained, would have mingled with the Dutch people, and after a while would have been lost in the current of Dutch national life. It was their very fear of this thing, as well as their love for England and her institutions, which made them dissatisfied in Holland, and caused them to think of finding a new home where they would not only have liberty, but where they could plant the institutions of the country they loved. Nevertheless, the generous welcome Holland extended to them, and the fine toleration of opinion which Holland exhibited to them, left its mark upon the Pilgrims, and continued to be an influence with them throughout the rest of their history.

II. The Pilgrims in America.

It was Carver, Cushman, and Brewster, three of the most influential men of the Leyden church, who were sent to England to negotiate for the migration to America. It was necessary to have money, and therefore it was neces-

sary to make the enterprise a commercial one in this aspect of it. These negotiations were finally successful and the time came, in 1620, when a selected group of the Leyden church prepared to sail for England and thence to America. That last day in Leyden on which John Robinson preached the farewell sermon, a day of prayer and a day of tears, must have remained forever a tender memory, both with those who stayed in Leyden and those who went to America. Ardently as John Robinson wished to go it was his duty to remain. What he did for them, however, noble man and faithful pastor that he was, had much to do with the success of the new settlement across the seas.

At Plymouth several attempts were made to sail with the two vessels, the Mayflower and the Speedwell. Always something happened, however, to the Speedwell, doubtless because the Captain, as well as some of the people were fearful of the voyage across the stormy Atlantic. Finally a selection was made, and those who were determined to go because they wanted to go were crowded upon the Mayflower, which finally sailed on the sixth day of September. The vessel landed at Plymouth on the 11th of November. On April 5, 1621, the Mayflower returned to England. What became of the Mayflower, finally, we do not know. The next November the Fortune arrived, with 35 passengers who, by reason of the scarcity of food, were a liability rather than an asset, but with the bettering of conditions new arrivals continued until the Plymouth plantation was firmly established.

The story of the early days is familiar to all readers of American History, and need not here be recapitulated:—the signing of the compact of government on shipboard on November 11; the expeditions into the interior; the meetings with the Indians, their perils and their friendships; the sickness in the cold and distress of the first winter, carrying off practically one-half of the people; the discovery of corn, which enabled them to plant and gather the first harvest; the more abundant harvest in 1623, celebrated in the now historic Thanksgiving, forerunner of the national Thanksgivings of these latter days; the troubles with the parent company in England in the settlement of indebtedness, which was finally accomplished fully and satisfactorily; the difficulty of the communistic state, which seemed necessary because of the bargain made, no man willing to work when it was for the group rather

than for himself, and the quick change to activity and prosperity when the communistic plan was discarded and each man began to toil for himself; the election of Carver as Governor, and on his death in April, 1621, the election of Bradford as his successor—annually elected thereafter until 1657, except '33, '34, '36, '38 and '44.

III. Particular Facts and Incidents of the New Settlement.

Several facts and incidents would be worthy of greater detail if time permitted. The first of these was the signing of the compact of government on shipboard before the landing.

The Plantation had authority from the "President and Council of New England" from whom the Pilgrims had their grant, authorized by royal charter "to make or gain and establish all manner of orders, laws, instructions, directions, forms, and ceremonies of government and magistracy, fit and necessary for and concerning the government of said colony and Plantation." Moreover, the patent of the Pilgrims, dated June 1, 1621, authorized them "to establish such laws and ordinances as are for their better government and the same by such officer or officers as they shall by most voices elect and choose to put into execution."

But it must be remembered that their then Patent was from Virginia and not from New England. Their landing, which was intended to be further south, was therefore, out of the jurisdiction of the authority under which they had come. Perhaps a still more potent reason for this compact, was that crossing the stormy sea, mutinous words were often heard spoken on the ship. A government, therefore, was a necessity, even though the population was scarcely more than one hundred people. This compact is as follows:

"In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread Soveraigne Lord King James by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc. Having undertaken for the glorie of God, and advancement of the christian faith and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, Doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another; covenant and

combine ourselves togeather into a civil body politick; for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame shuch just and equall lawes, ordinances, Acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the general good of the Colonie: Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap Codd the 11 of November (new style, November 21) in the year of the rainge of our soueraigne Lord King James of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth and of Scotland the fiftie-fourth Anno Domini 1620."

The second item of interest is the record of the Plantation, written by Governor Bradford, begun immediately and continued for nearly thirty years. The history of the Plymouth Plantation is, as stated in the beginning, the repository of all the facts known of this first settlement. Covering the period 1620-1648, Bradford began to print this record in 1622, perhaps sending some of the manuscript by the Mayflower on its return, April 5, 1621. Of Bradford's original book only seven copies are known to be extant, one in a private library and the other six in the libraries of Harvard, Yale, New York, Pennsylvania, the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, and the British Museum. This was the first book ever written in America. While it has been published many times by societies and individuals (1802 by the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1841, by Rev. Alexander Young, 1848, by Rev. Geo. B. Cheever, 1865, by Rev. Harry M. Dexter, 1897, by Edward Arbor) yet the history of the manuscript reads like a romance. It was given by Governor Bradford to his son William; by him to his son, Major John B. Bradford; taken by a Mr. Hutchison, a Loyalist, to England about 1775; found its way into the library of the Bishop of London at Fullham, where it was discovered in 1855, being recognized by John Wingate Thornton as probably the long-lost manuscript by certain references made by Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, in 1844. Through the endeavors of the Ambassador to Great Britain, Mr. Bayard, and others, it was finally delivered to the Governor of Massachusetts on May 26, 1897. It is now in the Massachusetts State Library, kept in a fireproof safe, but under glass exhibited daily to visitors.

The third item of interest is the people who came over on the Mayflower and their general character. In general, most people know that these people numbered 102. Mostly they know that one-half of these died the first year. My account, in Bradford's History, is 104. Doubtless the discrepancy is accounted for by the babies born on shipboard, who were not listed as leaving England, but who did arrive in America. There were 24 married men and 18 married women, explained in part by the fact that some of the wives remained in England, and one or two were widowers. There were 18 sons and 7 daughters. There were 13 men-servants and 1 maid-servant. There was one young maiden, Disare Menter, who returned the next year. There were two cousins of one family, one small boy and one small girl. There were five children, four boys and one girl, assigned to two families. There were 10 unmarried men. There were five, John Alden, a cooper, free to do as he pleased and he pleased to remain; two hired men, John Allerton and Thomas English, and two other men, William Trevore and _____ Ely, both of whom returned to England after one year. The group was therefore made up of 52 men, 20 women, and 32 children, making a total of 104, including the two babies born on shipboard.

Governor and Mrs. Carver and the wife of Captain Standish were among those who quickly passed away. Elder Brewster lived until he was 80. They were not all saints. Some of them drank whisky and engaged in carousals. Some of them gambled. One, John Billinton, was hung ten years after for killing a man. John Alden, hero of the historic courtship, was married to Priscilla Mollines. Thirty of the original number were still living in 1650, showing that the mortality of the first winter did not continue. Twelve were living in 1679; two in 1690, and one, Mary Cushman, wife of one of the original three who negotiated the expedition, was still living in 1698.

The fourth item of interest concerns the notable number of descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers. A clipping from a recent newspaper indicates the following facts concerning those resident in or near Pittsburgh:

"A partial list includes the following who trace their lineage to one of the 21 surviving members of the noted pilgrimage:

"Miss Florence E. Blake, Bellefield Avenue; Mrs. De-

wees N. Crawford, Bartlett Street; Mrs. Robert T. Miller, Murray Hill Avenue; Mrs. Charles LeG. Fortescue, North Euclid Avenue; Mrs. Mary C. Walter, North Euclid Avenue; Mrs. William M. Davidson, wife of the superintendent of the Pittsburgh public schools; Frederick L. Weiss, Meadville Theological Seminary; Mrs. John Siggins, Tidioute, Pa.; Howard G. Hodgkins, Butler, Pa., all members of the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants.

"Others not affiliated with the Massachusetts Society are: S. Jarvis Adams, Marcellin Adams, Miss Alice B. Lothrop, John W. Herron, Ogden Edwards, Mrs. C. D. Armstrong, and many more. Societies with Mayflower descendants on their rolls are The Colonial Dames, The Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution and the Men's Society of Colonial Wars.

"Additional certified Mayflower descendants include these Pittsburghers: Mrs. E. E. Phelps, Ruth Alden Phelps and Martha Seymour Phelps. The descent of these is through the second son of John and Priscilla Alden."

Last week the preacher at the Union Thanksgiving services, Prof. Erdman of Princeton, introduced himself as belonging to the relatively small group in America who do not trace their ancestry to the Mayflower. I wonder whether he ought, if he is not a recent comer to America, to be quite sure of the truth of his statement. In 1650, 30 years after the landing, there were alive 160 descendants of those who landed at Plymouth. If there were 160 in 1650 it is quite reasonable to suppose that the number of those able to trace their lineage back must be very large, indeed. In 1820 the population of our country was about nine millions, of which probably not more than 350,000 in the intervening two centuries had come over in ships. It is obvious that the remaining eight and one-half millions were descendants of the 350,000. If this was the proportion after two centuries the proportion would be tremendously larger after the lapse of another century.

IV. Spirit of Pilgrims and Significance of Pilgrimage.

While the limit of this paper has been reached, yet I wish, without amplification, to say something about the spirit of the Pilgrims and the significance of their advent in America.

In the first place the deep underlying motive in the migration to Holland and to America was religious, manifesting itself in almost absolute obedience to conscience. This intense conviction of right caused them to separate from the Established Church, and consequently, as in the case of Governor Bradford, to separate from family and friends. It was this that practically compelled them to leave England for sanctuary in Holland, and ultimately in America. No cost was counted great enough to justify infidelity to conscience. They were men of heroic mold, the blood of martyrs, and they were willing to march to death rather than to be untrue, but glad to live if they could find a place where they could worship God as free men and women.

In the second place, the migration to America was an act indicative of the intense love for England and loyalty to England's institutions. They were Englishmen. In Leyden they remained Englishmen. Moreover, they were free in Leyden and could worship as they pleased, but it was obvious they could not indefinitely continue to be Englishmen in Leyden, nor could they build up a bit of England anywhere in Holland. Persecuted as they were they never swerved in their loyalty to their own land. They must, wherever they should go, carry England with them. The place offering itself was America. There they desired to establish the Church, to establish the school, to establish free government, which should continue to be England.

In the third place the Pilgrims immediately framed a constitution and established a government which formed the beginnings of our Republic. But for the stupidity and obstinacy of the German king of England, America doubtless would have continued as Canada has continued to be a part of the great Anglo-Saxon Empire. The very compact, the method of carrying it out, the establishment of schools, the adoption of the town meeting, all these, however, guaranteed that whether this new country should continue a part of England or should become independent, the institutions of the new country should be free and that the people should absolutely determine for themselves the ultimate constitution, the form of government, and the enlightened institutions of America.

What America has become is simply the development of what the Pilgrim Fathers initiated in the very beginning.

Two or three of the underlying principles in which the Pilgrims implicitly believed were:

1. The founding of a Commonwealth based upon the fundamental principles of the Word of God. The Bible was their supreme authority, higher than priest and prelate, higher than Church or State, the only authority which commanded their conscience. They wanted a state based upon this authority.

2. They wanted a state in which law should be supreme, a commonwealth of law and not of men. Absolutely as they believed in conscience, absolutely as they believed in personal liberty, absolutely as they were determined upon free institutions, they were determined that law, the law of God and the law of the State, should be final and supreme.

3. They wanted a state in which tolerance should be practiced in the fullest measure. Peculiar ideas exist as to the rigidity, harshness and intolerance of the Pilgrims. Nothing could be farther from the fact than this curious popular belief. He who believes in a providence in human affairs must also believe that the Pilgrims were sent to Holland to learn this very lesson. They saw in Holland almost perfect freedom of worship and opinion, in vivid contrast with the intolerance of both the Church and the State in England. They came to America determined to be true to their own interpretation of Scripture, but determined also that the man who differed from them should also be free to exercise the right of judgment and of conscience. Hundreds and thousands of witches were executed in England and on the Continent, and a few among the Puritans of the Massachusetts colony. In the Plymouth colony neither persecution nor execution, but a quick extermination of all charges against witchery was secured by the treatment accorded the first woman who made such charge. Their own pastor conceived the idea that he would not baptise infants but only adults. They even tolerated him, permitting him to hold to his own opinions, and getting their infants baptised as they could. They carried this same tolerant spirit into their relations with the Indians with excellent results. Toleration, therefore, not intolerance, characterized the Pilgrims.

A still further illustration of this fact is the Pilgrim blood running in the veins of the people of Plymouth today, manifesting itself in a Baptist, a Methodist, a Universalist,

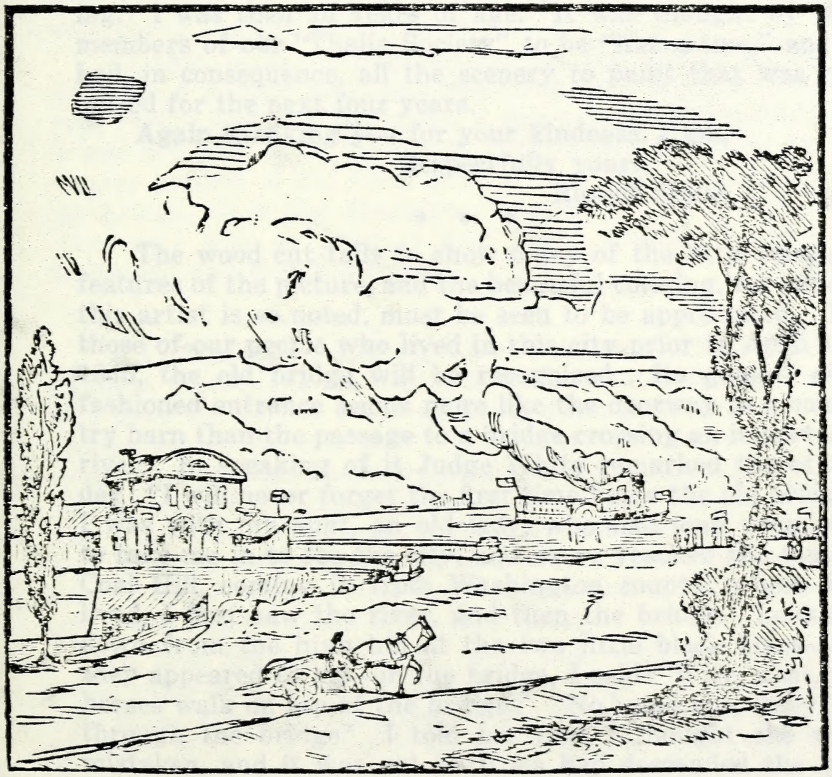
a Unitarian, an Episcopal, a Congregationalist, and doubtless also in the Roman Catholic Church in Plymouth. Trinitarians and Unitarians, Catholics and Protestants, Congregationalists and Presbyterians, dwell together in unity.

Such, in brief, is the story of the rise of the Pilgrims in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the persecution of them in England, their residence in Holland, the establishment of their settlement in far-off America. What we are today in this land of free institutions we are largely because of the impress made by the Pilgrims upon the life of the nation in its very beginnings. England put the stamp upon America, and while we have had the Dutchman in New York, the Scandanavian in New Jersey, the Quaker, the German, and the Ulster-Scotch in Pennsylvania, the Huguenot and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian in the South, together with those who have come in more recent times, yet back to the Pilgrim we go for the origin and the explanation of much that we value highest in America.

THE OLD MONONGAHELA BRIDGE AND ITS REMINISCENCES.

BY PENDENNIS.

In June I gave a very brief account of the artist who painted the beautiful act drop that has graced Library Hall since 1870, and spoke of the production as one of the finest in the country. A few days ago I was agreeably surprised at receiving the following letter, which will explain the wood cut that appears with this article:



Weldon, Montgomery County, Pa.,
October 1, 1884.

Dear Sir:—My niece, Miss Mary Sample, sent me, some time since, a slip from the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, giving an account of the "Smith family"—of my branch of it. I thought it so well written, and in such good taste, that I was very anxious to ascertain the author, so wrote to my sister, asking her to find who it was that had so kindly mentioned me, stating that I would like to send the writer a little effort in my way in return for his kindness. She soon sent me your address as the author's, and I forward with this a view from the end of the old Monongahela bridge, corner Smithfield and Water streets, which I sketched in 1833, and which I hope may afford you some pleasure, as I believe that the old bridge has long since passed away.

The Lombardy poplar seen on the left is the one which I copied when I made my very first attempt at scene painting. I was then 15 years of age. It was thought by the members of our "Thalia Society" to be "like a tree," and I had, in consequence, all the scenery to paint that was required for the next four years.

Again thanking you for your kindness, I am,
Respectfully yours,
Russell Smith.

* * *

The wood cut fails to show many of the little strange features of the picture, and the beautiful coloring, for which this artist is so noted, must be seen to be appreciated. To those of our people who lived in this city prior to April 10, 1845, the old bridge will be recognized. Its quaint, old-fashioned entrance seems more like the doorway to a country barn than the passage to a bridge crossing an important river. In speaking of it Judge White remarked the other day: "I will never forget the first time I saw the old bridge. I was with my aunt, an old lady, who had long promised to take me in to see the city, and as we reached the top of Coal Hill, coming in from Washington county, where we lived, I first saw the river, and then the bridge. Looking down from the high hill at the two little black holes—as they appeared to me—in the bridge, I said: 'Why, aunt, do horses walk on top of the bridge?' 'No,' said she, 'they go through the bridge.' I told her that I thought she was mistaken, and it was not until we had descended the hill

and nearly reached the entrance did I discover that horses could go through it and over it."

Many of the readers of the *Dispatch* will remember the ox roast on the sand bar near the bridge. That was in 1838. The bar at that time was about two or three feet above the water, and the day of the roast a pontoon bridge was constructed of keelboats running from the bar to the shore. The roast was a grand jubilee gotten up by the Democrats, after the election of David R. Porter. If I mistake not, the late Col. Wm. Phillips was then a leader in the ranks of the "unterrified," and dealt out the ribs of the roast with lavish hand. I remember the Colonel, then a young and handsome fellow, handing me a small piece of the half-roasted meat, and, as I gulped it down, I thought I had never tasted anything sweeter. A few hours after the meeting had adjourned, the rain commenced to fall, and next morning not a grain of sand of the bar was to be seen above the surface of the water.

At that time the Southside, from the bridge up the river for a mile or two, was extensive open meadow land, with two or three orchards and a dozen or so of dwellings. It was not until after the fire of 1845, which destroyed the greater portion of the lower part of the city, including the old bridge, that the Southside advanced. The Western University was on what is now Third Avenue, between Smithfield and Grant Streets.

* * *

If I mistake not, in 1845, a hose company had its house on Sixth Street, and among its members was O. H. Rippey, who gave up his life while gallantly leading his men on a charge during the late war. Sam Barr, now a member of Congress from the Dauphin district, was then in his prime and exchanged Munchausen stories with Harry Laubie, who was afterward killed and scalped by the Sioux Indians. Gus Bonafon, Wm. Creighton and others who were members of the company, had their rendezvous at that place, and made night hideous with their yells.

In 1848 the boys in blue, with their stiff stocks that made their necks look as though they were carved out of pine sticks, and who had gone to fight the Mexican greasers, returned home. A grand reception was given them, and in the line could be seen the stately judges, officers of the

courts, members of Congress; in fact, the entire populace turned out *en masse* to do honor to the gallant men who had gone to fight for the old flag. Wynkoop's regiment arrived on Saturday amid the ringing of bells and firing of cannon, and on the Sunday following the steamer Jewess arrived, bringing 24 bodies of the dead soldiers, 13 of whom belonged to the Duquesne Grays, Captain Herron commanding. At the grand reception Captain John Birmingham was Chief Marshal and the Hon. Wm. Wilkins orator of the day. Nearly all of those who took prominent part in the procession have since passed beyond the great river. At that time, just where the opera-house now stands—I mean that portion that fronts on Diamond Street—the Presbyterian Church stood, surrounded by what was then a large graveyard. The spot now occupied by the "Howard block" was then a low, marshy frog pond, where the boys after a day's rain "paddled their light canoe," and got well paddled when they returned home. At the corner of Fifth Avenue and Smithfield, Updegraff's little blacksmith shop stood, and many a time and oft did your humble servant receive well-merited chastisement for throwing mud balls at passing wagons.—*The Pittsburgh Dispatch*, October 12, 1884.

THE PITTSBURGH BLUES

BY

CAPTAIN JOHN H. NIEBAUM*

PART I

The Battle of Mississineway.

War was declared on June 18th, 1812, by the Congress of the United States against Great Britain.

President Madison sanctioned the same, and next day made public proclamation. The quota of men assigned to Pennsylvania by the national government was 14,000. Governor Snyder of Pennsylvania stated in his call for troops: "The cup of humiliation and long-suffering has been filled to overflowing, and the indignant arm of an injured people must be raised to dash it to the earth and grasp the avenging sword.

"If ever a nation had motives to fight, we are that people. It would give the Governor inexpressible satisfaction if Pennsylvania would volunteer her quota."

The quota of the state was more than filled. Great Britain had assumed many privileges over the United States, such as numerous unwarranted demands, (through orders in Council), and exercising the "right to search" of American ships for alleged suspected British naval deserters, under cover of which the grossest outrages were committed.

At a large public meeting held in Pittsburgh on August 12th, 1812, resolutions were adopted endorsing the action of the government, and that the appeal to arms was consistent with the maintenance of honor and dignity, and in defense of our sacred rights; and that the letting loose by the British Government of the Indians on the American border deserved the execration of the civilized world; and that the citizens of Pittsburgh, irrespective of party, would obey the laws, and submit to any system of taxation to carry on the struggle; and that the action of Governor

*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on January 25, 1916.

Snyder be approved. The population of Pittsburgh in 1812 was about 5,000.

Previous to this declaration of war, the Pittsburgh Blues were organized under the military laws of the state. Immediately upon commencement of hostilities, filled with becoming zeal and patriotism, they unanimously tendered their services to the general government, which were accepted, and they were ordered into active service and directed to join the Northwestern troops, commanded by Gen. William Henry Harrison.

The company having been previously thoroughly drilled in the science of military movements, by officers well qualified by experience and education, was fully prepared to take the field at a moment's notice. Preparatory to their departure for the seat of war they were mustered into United States service on September 1, 1812, the officers having been sworn in August 14, 1812. They went into camp on the 10th day of September,1812, on Grant's Hill, near where the Court House now stands. On the 20th they were ordered to the north side of the Allegheny River, and there went into camp on the commons, on the ground afterwards occupied by the Western Penitentiary. On the 21st they again struck their tents and went into camp on the bank of the Ohio River, their white tents extending westerly from Belmont Street to a beautiful grove of sugar-trees where Ferry Lane, (now Beaver Avenue), enters the Ohio River. All this territory hallowed by the memory of the past, was embraced in the old Fifth Ward of the former city of Allegheny. Under the shadow of these mafnificent trees the officers' headquarters were established.

The *Pittsburgh Mercury* of August 27, 1812, said: "Capt. Butler's Company, the Pittsburgh Blues, has received orders from the Secretary of War to march. The Blues are a very handsome body of men, completely uniformed, disciplined and equipped, and we have no doubt they will acquit themselves honorably in whatever difficulties await them. The best wishes of their fellow townsmen and their county will accompany them."

The militia laws of the time required the enrollment of every able-bodied man between specified ages, and provided for certain training during each year. These were rather crude performances, but some patriotic spirits organized themselves into volunteer companies, usually adopting a

name. They were armed, uniformed and equipped, at their own expense. In 1807 the State Legislature passed a law recognizing these separate companies as a part of the state militia. The Pittsburgh Blues was one of these volunteer companies.

The following list of the officers and men composing the Pittsburgh Blues was copied from the official roll of the company in the War Department, at Washington, D. C.

OFFICERS

Sworn in August 14, 1812

James R. Butler, Captain
Matthew Magee, 1st Lieut.
James Irwin, Ensign
Elijah Trovillo, 1st Sergeant
Isaac Williams, 2nd Sergeant
Wounded at Fort Meigs, May 5, 1813.
John Willock, 3rd Sergeant, Wounded at Fort Meigs, May 9, 1813.
George Haven, 4th Sergeant
Nathaniel Patterson, 1st Corporal
John W. Benny, 2nd Corporal
Samuel Elliott, 3rd Corporal
Wounded at Mississinewa, Dec. 18, 1812.
Israel B. Reed, 4th Corporal, Wounded at Mississinewa, Dec-18, 1812.

PRIVATES

Mustered in September 1, 1812

Robert Allison
Daniel C. Boss, Wounded at Ft. Meigs, May 5, 1813.
Isaac Chess, Wounded at Mississinewa, Dec. 18, 1812.
Andrew Clark
John Deal
John Davis
John D. Davis
Andrew Deemer
Joseph Dodd, Wounded at Mississinewa, Dec. 18, 1812.
Died June 16, 1813 at Ft. Meigs
Thomas Dobbins, Wounded at Ft. Meigs, May 5, 1813.
John Elliott
Oliver English
Enoch Fairfield
Samuel Graham
Nathaniel Hull
Samuel Jones
John Francis, Killed at Mississinewa, Dec. 18, 1812.
Jesse Lewis
Peter S. Orton
George McFall
Thomas McClarnin
Robert McNeal
Norris Mathews
John Maxwell
Oliver McKee, Wounded May 28, 1813. Died May 29, 1813.
John Marcy, discharged for disobedience.
Nathaniel McGiffen, discharged for disability.
Moses Morse
Joseph McMasters
Pressly J. Neville, Promoted to Sergeant.
James Newman, Promoted to Sergeant, killed at Ft. Meigs, May 5, 1813.
William Richardson, killed at Ft. Meigs, May 5, 1813.
John Park, Wounded at Ft. Meigs May 5, 1813.
Mathew Parker
John Pollard
Charles Pentland
Edward F. Pratt
George V. Robinson
Samuel Swift
homas Sample
Henry Thompson
Nathaniel Vernon
David Watt
Charles Weidner
Charles Wahrendorf, promoted to Q. M. Sergt., Wounded at Ft. Meigs, May 5, 1813.
George S. Wilkins, Promoted on May , 1813.

Two colored men, Frank Richards and William Sidney, went with the Blues in the capacity of servants to the officers; and, when necessity required it, they handled muskets and gained reputations for coolness under fire and unflinching bravery in time of danger.

CASUALTIES

MISSISSINEWAY

John Francis, killed Dec. 18, 1812
Corp. Samuel Elliott, Wounded Dec. 18, 1812.
Corp. Israel B. Reed, Wounded Dec. 18, 1812.
Corp. Isaac Chess, Wounded Dec. 18, 1812.
Corp. Jos. Dodd, Wounded, Dec. 18, 1812.

FORT MEIGS

Sergt. Jas. Newman, killed May 5, 1813.
Wm. Richardson, killed May 5, 1813.
Oliver McKee, wounded May 28; died May 29, 1813.
Jos. Dodd, died June 16, 1813.
Sergt. Isaac Williams, wounded May 5, 1813.
Daniel C. Boss, wounded May 5, 1813.
Thomas Dobbins, wounded May 5, 1813.
John Park, wounded May 5, 1813.
Sergt. Chas. Wahrendorf, wounded May 5, 1813.
Sergt. John Willock, wounded May 9, 1813.

At first it was intended to send the Blues, under Capt. Butler, and the Greensburg Rifle Company, under Capt. Alexander, to the Niagara Department, but the perilous situation of the Northwestern frontier caused the authorities to change their plan, whereupon the two companies were ordered to take boats on September 23rd and move down the Ohio River nearly to Cincinnati, there to join General W. H. Harrison, who had been placed in command of the Army of the Northwest and was preparing to march northward. In fact, General Harrison was then well advanced across Ohio with about 5,000 men to the relief of Fort Wayne. The Westmoreland troop of cavalry, under Capt. Markle, left Pittsburgh for Urbana, Ohio, on September 22nd, 1812, overland.

The call of the Governor for Pennsylvania's quota was for six months' service, but the Pittsburgh Blues, the Greensburg Rifles, and two troops of light dragoons, Capt. Markle's and Capt. McClelland's, all from Western Pennsylvania, volunteered and were enrolled and mustered in for twelve months' service.

Following is a copy of a communication which was procured from a photostat of the original, on file in the War Department in Washington. It is an interesting document and shows the spirit of the Pittsburgh Blues:

"Pittsburgh, September 24, 1812.

Sir:—In conformity of your order I transmit a muster

roll of my company, (The Pittsburgh Blues). I hope my company will be paid off immediately on their joining the Northwest Army. I have promised them their pay at that time, and if they are not, I cannot be answerable for the consequences. They consider the government obliged to do so, and I wish they may not be disappointed. They have left homes where they lived in affluence, and are willing to risk everything in defence of their country—they only receive necessary supplies and money to furnish themselves with winter clothing (and pay for the clothing which they have already furnished). Your humble servant.

James R. Butler,
Capt. Pittsburgh Blues.

Honorable Secretary of War, Wm. Eustis.
P. S.—We join the army by the way of Cincinnati."

General Richard Butler was one of the conspicuous figures in the early history of Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania. First as major of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, and finally as colonel of the Ninth, he served continuously in the Revolution from July, 1776, to the end of the war.

He served also for some time as lieutenant colonel in Morgan's command. General Henry Lee, author of "Memories of the War," etc., speaks of him as "the renowned second and rival of Morgan in the Saratoga encounters." For the five or six years preceding his death he had been Indian Agent at Pittsburgh.

His home was at the corner of Liberty Street and Marbury, now Third Street. He was shot down, tomahawked and scalped, during General Arthur St. Clair's expedition against the Indians in 1791.

Capt. James R. Butler, who commanded the Pittsburgh Blues was the son of General Richard Butler.

The Pittsburgh Blues, and the Greensburg Rifles, embarked on September 23rd, 1812, on keel boats and proceeded down the Ohio river, arriving on successive days at Beaver, Steubenville and Wheeling, reaching Marietta, on October 1st, and Galipolis, on October 6th, and landed two miles above Cincinnati on October 13th. On October 14th, they marched into and through Cincinnati, and encamped below the town until October 28th, when they started their march across the country to join the Northwestern Army, arriving at

Franklinton, Ohio, the headquarters, and remaining there until November 25th, 1812.

Upon their arrival they were assigned with the other Pennsylvania troops to the right wing, under Brigadier General Crooks.

The army moved from Franklinton to Fort Greenville, November 25th. On the 17th of December occurred the preliminary skirmish of Mississineway, and on the 18th the battle of that name. The movement consisted of an expedition under Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Campbell against the Mississineway villages. Early on the morning of the 18th the troops were furiously attacked by the Indians. The Pittsburgh Blues were employed to reinforce the angle of the camp against which the enemy was thrown, and they fought gallantly for about an hour. Two corporals of the company, Elliott and Read, were wounded; one private, Francis, was killed, and two privates, Chess and Dodd, were wounded. The company was specifically noticed for its gallant conduct in the official report.

The *Pittsburgh Gazette* of January 22, 1813, published the appended story:

"Dayton, O., December 31, 1812.

On the 25th of November a detachment under the command of Lt. Col. Campbell left Franklinton on a tour which was then a secret. This detachment consisted of a regiment of Light Horse (6 mos. Vols.) of Kentucky, Col. Simeral, U. S. Regulars, and U. S. Volunteers, commanded by Major Ball, a company of regular infantry, the Pittsburgh Blues and Capt. Alexander's Riflemen, amounting in the whole to upwards of 600 men. We proceeded to this place. We here left all our tents and all our baggage. From this we marched to Greenville, the extreme frontier settlement. Previous to our arrival here the object of our expedition was made known to us. We were informed in general orders that it was against the Miami Indians whose towns and settlements lay on the Mississineway River.

"The whole of the 'foot' being mounted on pack horses at Dayton, in order to expedite our march, we proceeded with considerable rapidity. Our march after we left Greenville lay through a dreary wilderness, and never saw a house nor the trace of a human being, except savages, for the distance of 85 miles, the whole of our march from Franklinton being about 200 miles. Every man carried his

own provisions on his horse, which consisted of nothing but biscuit and pork. As we had no camp equipage of any kind, our only means of cooking was by broiling our meat on the coals, or roasting it on a stock before the fire.

"On the morning of the third day's march from the settlement, we were within 40 miles of the Indians towns. We proceeded that day, and the whole of the next night, and halted at about 4 o'clock in the morning a few miles from the town. After refreshing ourselves for about an hour, we took up our line of march, which was in ten columns of single file, the order observed during the whole expedition, and moved with the greatest silence, our object being to take them by surprise. When we were within half a mile of the town our guides gave direction to move up as briskly as possible. Here a scene of tumult and confusion ensued. Every man put spurs to his horse, the yell was raised by the whole army, the ranks were broken, and we entered the town in the utmost confusion and disorder.

"The infantry and riflemen, who were mounted on pack horses, and were left in the rear when the race began, dismounted and entered the town regularly formed. There were not more than 12 or 15 warriors in the town. These, on the approach of our men, fled across the river without making any resistence. We fired on them and killed 6 or 7. Between 30 and 40 prisoners were taken, men, women and children, and the town burnt. Had we entered the town in regular order, every Indian might have been taken without firing a gun. The prisoners were left in the care of the infantry and riflemen, and the light horse proceeded to destroy another town a few miles lower down the river, which they accomplished, there being only two or three old men and a squaw in it. The light horse returned in the afternoon.

"Our loss in the attack consisted of two men—one killed by accident by our own men in the general confusion; the other had strolled some distance from the town and was shot by an Indian who was lurking about. We were informed by the Indian prisoners that there were 500 warriors at a town 15 miles below, at the junction of the Mississineway and Wabash. From this information we had every reason to apprehend an attack next morning. The result justified our suspicions.

"The object of the expedition being accomplished, which was to take prisoners and destroy the Indian towns, we had received orders to prepare for our return next morning. We encamped that night in our usual order, which was a hollow square.

"After revielle in the morning and about half an hour before daylight, just as the moon had set, and while we were cooking our breakfast and preparing for our march, we were assailed by the yells of the savages.

"The attack commenced on the right rear angle of the camp with greatest fury, and was sustained by part of Major Ball's Squadron of horse who were on that quarter. The guards were immediately driven in—every man was under arms in a minute. Our company, together with the rest of the infantry and riflemen, formed the front side of the square, instantly formed on our ground where we waited for orders. In a short time, and while the battle raged with great fury on the quarter where it commenced, Col. Campbell rode to Captain Butler and ordered him to reinforce that quarter or we should be cut off. The company immediately marched to the spot directed and poured in so furious and well directed a fire that in a short time the fire of the enemy was almost totally silenced.

"Soon after this daylight began to appear, and our party proving too powerful the savages began to retreat. They were pursued some distance by a troop of horse and routed with considerable slaughter. The action continued about an hour. Our loss was eight killed and about 45 wounded. Of the wounded, two died on our return and one at this place. These, together with the two killed the day of the attack on the town, makes our loss in killed 12.

"The greatest part of the battle being fought in the dark, renders it impossible to form a correct idea of the number of the enemy. It is the general opinion, however, that their force was about 300. Neither are we able to ascertain correctly their loss, but from the number we found dead on the field, from the trails in the snow of those who had been dragged off, and from the reports of the Indians who have since come in, we calculate their loss to be about 100 killed and wounded.

"In the action our Pittsburgh boys behaved with the greatest courage. It is impossible to say too much in their

praise. On the first alarm they were formed with the utmost alacrity and marched to the ground in the best order, where they fought with the coolness and intrepedity of veterans, and although two of the men were wounded in the commencement of the action they refused to leave the ranks but fought until the action was over. In short, our company contributed more than any other to decide the fate of the day. They were in the hottest of the action for a considerable time, yet there was not the smallest indication of fear discernible in a single man. We had one killed, one dangerously wounded, but who is now recovering, one severely and two slightly wounded.

"No less can be said in praise of Captain Markle's troop. His loss in killed and wounded was considerable. Among the killed was his second lieutenant, Waltz. He was wounded in the arm at the commencement of the action, but fought until near its close, when he received a ball through his forehead, which terminated his life in about five hours. Of the whole detachment, not more than four companies can properly be said to have been engaged. These were Markle's, Garrard's and Hopkins' troops of horse and Butler's company of infantry—the Pittsburgh Blues.

"The attack was made on the three first mentioned troops, who sustained the shock until they were reinforced by our company. Other parts of the army had some slight skirmishing but were not drawn into the regular line of battle. All the cavalry were armed with rifles and muskets and fought on foot until daylight.

"Burying the dead and making preparation for transporting our wounded procrastinated our departure till late in the afternoon. The dead were buried in one of the houses, which was torn down and burned over the graves to prevent any trace of their deposit being discovered by the Indians. All the wounded, who were not able to ride, were carried on litters by horses. This necessarily retarded our movements greatly, and we were every night under the continual apprehension of an attack from the savages. We every night fortified ourselves by throwing up a strong breastwork around our encampment. The men slept on their arms. One-third of the detachment was detailed every night for guard. Fortunately, however, the reception we gave them at Mississineway deterred them from again attacking us.

"After a tedious march of seven days we arrived at Greenville. From that place we sent the prisoners under a militia guard to Piqua. Fortune favored us with respect to weather, which was extremely cold. Had it been otherwise, the difficulties from the number of creeks and the great swamps we had to cross would have rendered it almost impossible. The detachment is very much broken down from the severity of the weather. Nearly one half have their feet frost bitten, which renders them incapable of doing duty.

"To add to our misfortunes, when within two days march of Greenville our provisions were exhausted. This, to troops so much reduced by fatigue and hardships, as we were, was sufficient to damp the spirits of any men. The second night before our arrival at the settlement we encamped on the same ground we had occupied on our march out. Here our men were glad to gather the grains of corn from the ground where the horses had fed, and parch and boil it for their sustenance. The next day we met a reinforcement of militia from Greenville. They brought six pack-horse loads of provisions, which afforded about half a ration a man. This kept us from starving till we arrived at the settlement, where we got everything necessary for our relief.

"I can scarcely believe any men suffered more than we did from fatigue and hunger. Indeed, the result proves it, as there is not more than one-fourth of the detachment fit for duty. Notwithstanding all this, I scarcely ever heard a man complain."

The following items are from the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of February 12, 1813.

"We have the pleasing information from Franklinton that the Pittsburgh Blues had perfectly recovered from the effects of the frost, and the fatigue and hardships they underwent in the late expedition to the Mississineway; that they were to march in a few days to join General Harrison. May honor and victory attend them."

"Greensburg, January 7th, 1813.

The following letter was received in town by Monday evening's mail from Capt. Alexander, of the Greensburg volunteers. Though written in haste, and not intended for publication, we have requested and procured a copy for insertion. We like the generous and handsome manner in which the

Captain speaks of his brother officers. The letter is dated Munceytown, four miles from Mississineway town, 18th December.

'We arrived here yesterday morning, attacked and took this town. This morning we were attacked before day, had hard fighting, were victorious. Markle has distinguished himself; his company has suffered. Waltz is killed, also two or three others-about 13 of his men wounded; some severely. Captain Butler's men fought bravely. Their fire was destructive; so of Captain Hopkins and every other that fought. Captain Butler had one man killed and four wounded. My men had little share in the fight, owing to our station—but they will fight. We have 37 prisoners. I think the enemy suffered greatly. Behind almost every tree blood is seen. I think they have lost 50 or 60. We will march on our return this morning. We have no forage for our horses, and are scarce of provisions. I think we will be able to make good our way.

'At night the camp was fortified with logs and brush, and fires were kept burning because of the bitter cold weather. 130 of the men were frost bitten. They were 96 miles from a settlement. The 27 wounded were carried on litters. They arrived at Dayton, on December 24th, after a two weeks hard campaign.' "

OFFICIAL DISPATCH TO GENERAL HARRISON

Camp Mississineway, two miles above Silver Heels,
December 12, 1812

Dear General—After a fatiguing march of 3 days and one night from Greenville, O., I arrived with the detachment under my command at a town on the Mississineway, thought by the spies to be Silver Heels town; but proved to be a town settled by a mixture of Delaware and Miami Indians.

About 8 o'clock in the morning of the 17th, undiscovered, a charge was made upon the town, when many fled over the river. Thirty-seven prisoners are taken, whom I shall bring in with me, including men, women, and children. Seven warriors were killed. After disposing of the prisoners I marched a part of the detachment down the river and burned three villages without resistance. I then returned and encamped on the ground where stood the first village attacked.

This morning about daylight, or a little before, my camp was attacked by a party of Indians (the number unknown, but supposed to be between 2 and 3 hundred), on my right line, occupied by Maj. Ball's squadron, who gallantly resisted them for about an hour, when the Indians retreated, after being most gallantly charged by Captain Trotter at the head of his troop of cavalry.

We lost in the action one killed and one wounded, (by accident the last.) In the action this morning we have 8 killed, and about 25 or 30 wounded. Not having yet gotten a report, I am unable to state the number exactly. The Indians have lost about 40 killed, from the discoveries now made. The spies are out at present ascertaining the number.

I have sent to Greenville for reinforcements and send you this hasty sketch. A detailed report shall hereafter be made known to you, noticing particularly those companies and individuals who have distinguished themselves signally.

I anticipate another attack before I reach Greenville, but rest assured, my dear General, they shall be warmly received. I have a detachment composed of the bravest fellows, both officers and soldiers, in the world. Our return will be commenced this morning. Among the killed I have to deplore the loss of brave Captain Pierce. Lieut. Waltz, of Captain Markle's troop of cavalry, is also mortally wounded. Their gallant conduct shall be noticed hereafter.

Yours with the greatest respect and esteem,
John B. Campbell, Lt. Col. 19th Regt.,
United States Infantry

General W. H. Harrison,
Commanding N. W. Army

It may be proper to note here that Col. Campbell died July 5, 1814, of wounds received in the battle of Chippewa.

Gen. Harrison in transmitting Col. Campbell's report to the War Department expressed the following sentiment respecting the observance of humanity in this expedition:

"The character of this gallant detachment, exhibiting as it did perseverance, patience, fortitude and bravery, would however, have been incomplete if in the midst of victory they had forgotten the feelings of humanity. It is with the sincerest pleasure that the General has heard that the most punctual obedience was paid to his orders; not only in saving the women and children but in sparing all the warriors who ceased to resist; and that even when vigorously attacked

by the enemy, the claims of mercy prevailed over every sense of their own danger; and this heroic band respected the lives of their prisoners. The General believes that humanity and true bravery are inseparable."

The *Pittsburgh Gazette* of January 29, 1813 contained the following note:

"Capt. Jno. B. Alexander has been promoted to rank of Major. His command is composed of Pittsburgh Blues, Greensburg Rifles, and Capt. McCray's company of U. S. Volunteers of Virginia."

(To be continued)

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

189—Piano

presented by General Richard Butler to his daughter Mary. General Butler in his day was the most noted character in Pittsburgh. He had been Indian trader and Indian agent. In the Revolution he was second in command to General Daniel Morgan at Saratoga, and second in command to General Anthony Wayne at Stony Point. He was a justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County and was the first lieutenant of the county, the officer who at that time was commander of the militia. He was a member of the General Assembly, and met a glorious death during St. Clair's unfortunate expedition against the Indians on the Miami River, on November 4, 1791. His name has been commemorated in that of Butler County, in this state. His home was in the log house situated on the east side of Marbury, now Third street, one door south of Penn street, now Penn avenue.

Presented by Isaac Meason Sowers and Mrs. Gertrude Sowers McCalmont, the latter a great-great- granddaughter of General Butler.

Presented by Mrs. E. J. Wyatt.

190—Military Cape

worn by Captain Stanton Sholes at the battle of Lake Erie in the War of 1812.

191—Volume of Manuscripts

of Captain Stanton Sholes, giving accounts of various incidents in the war of 1812, in which the author participated.

192—Photograph

of the grave and monument of Captain Stanton Sholes.

Presented by Adolph M. Forester.

193—Autograph

of Edward Alexander MacDowell, composer and pianist.

194—Autograph

of Arthur Foot, musician.

195—Autograph

of Edgar Stillman Kelley, composer, conductor and lecturer on musical topics.

196—Letter of Henry W. Longfellow to Adolph M. Foerster.

"Cambridge, April 17, 1879.

Dear Sir,

Please accept my thanks for your kindness in sending me your music to the Serenade of the Spanish Student. I shall

take the earliest opportunity to hear it sung. Meanwhile I hasten to acknowledge the compliment you paid me, and am,

Yours very truly,
Henry W. Longfellow."

Presented by Mrs. R. A. McKee.
(Once the property of the late Jacob Reel)

197—Music Book

"The Easy Instructor," or a new method of teaching Sacred Harmony. With a choice Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems, from celebrated Authors, with a number composed in Europe and America, entirely new; suited to all the Metres sung in the different Churches in the United States.

Published by William Little and William Smith, Albany, New York, 1807.

198—Music Book

"Bright Jewels;" for the Sunday School. A new collection of Sunday school songs written expressly for this work, many of which are the latest compositions of William B. Bradbury, and have never before been published.

Published by Bigelow & Main, (successors to Wm. B. Bradbury), New York, N. Y., 1869.

199—"Book of Psalms"

An imitation of the Psalms of David; carefully suited to the Christian Worship; being an improvement of the former versions of the Psalms.

Published by Whiting, Backus & Whiting, Albany, N. Y. 1804.

Presented by the late Dr. John P. Burchfield.

200—Music Book

"The New Carmina Sacra;" or Boston Collection of Church Music.

Published by Lowell Mason, Boston, Mass., 1850.

201—Music Book

"The Western Harp;" containing a Collection of Sacred Music. Original and Selected; by Samuel Wakefield.

Published by Charles H. Kay, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1846.

202—Music Book

"Evangelical Music;" or The Sacred Minstrel and Sacred Harp United; consisting of a great variety of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Set Pieces, Anthems, by J. H. Hickok and George Fleming.

Published by L. Loomis, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1836.

203—Music Book

"The Beauties of Harmony;" containing the rudiments of music on an improved plan. A Musical dictionary, or glossary of musical terms, with their explanations, and an ex-

tensive collection of Sacred Music, consisting of Short Tunes, Fuges, and Anthems. By Freeman Lewis.

Published by Johnston & Stockton, 27 Market street, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1831.

Presented by Mrs. N. W. Shafer.

204—Pamphlet

"The life of Husti-Coluc-Chee, a Seminole Missionary, as delivered by him in the several churches of the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, in December, 1845, by J. W. Weaver. Printed by Victor Scriba, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1846.

Presented by Alexander Johnson Negley.

205—Volume

"East Liberty Presbyterian Church," with historical setting and a narrative of the Centennial Celebration, April 12-20, 1919. Compiled by Miss Georgina G. Negley, A. B.

Notes and Queries

BATHTUBS AND PROGRESS

It seems that the bathtub may be a measure of civilization and progress. In the classical days of Greco-Roman grandeur, bathing was a fine art, and its rites were performed amid luxurious surroundings. But when the world reeled backward into the chaos of the Dark Ages, the refinements of the bath, with its perfumes and anointings, passed out of vogue. Pious hermits, devoted to mystic contemplation, gave slight care to the perishable body. The rabble has been cynically said to have been distinguished by its fear of learning, perdition, and the bathtub. Cleanliness and sanitation received scant recognition from either public or private persons. The world was ravaged by plague and pestilence.

Finally inspired by the discoveries of science, governments began to promulgate and enforce sanitary regulations. As stated in Volume 12, Ruling Case Law: "The health of the people has long been recognized as an economic asset and a social blessing. It was a subject of ancient literature and philosophy, and never, perhaps, has civilized man been oblivious to its importance. Yet it has remained for our own times, which might be styled the age of conservation, to take practical cognizance of the matter. As our population has increased and our civilization has become more complex, there has been a steady tendency toward a code of rules to guard against illness, disease, and pestilence. Health officers and boards have been appointed for the purpose of devising and enforcing sanitary measures, and there has

been much litigation in respect of particular matters affecting health."

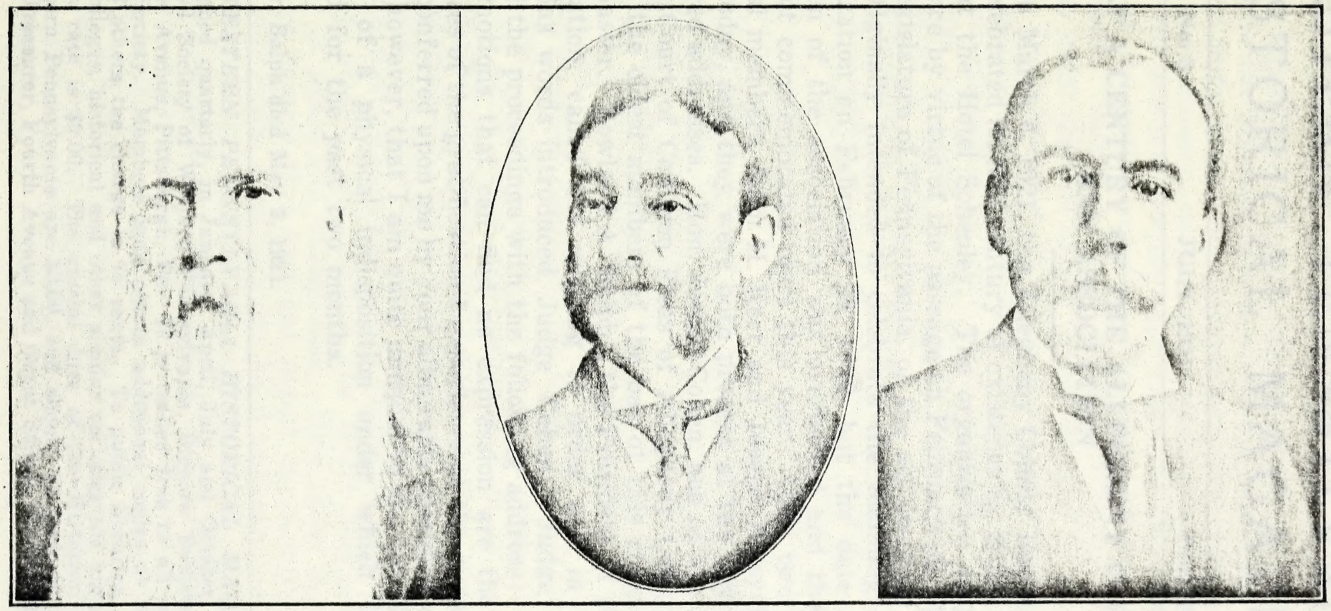
"The first bathtub in the United States," records a writer in the *Omaha Bee*, "was built in Cincinnati, and installed in a home there in 1842. It was made of mahogany, lined with sheet lead, and was proudly exhibited by its owner at a Christmas party. Next day it was denounced in the Cincinnati papers as a luxurious, undemocratic vanity. Then came the medical men and declared it a menace to health. In 1843, Philadelphia tried to prohibit bathing between November 1 and March 15, by ordinance. In 1845, Boston made bathing unlawful except when prescribed by a physician. Virginia taxed bathtubs $30 a year. President Fillmore installed the first one ever in the White House.

"These things seem incredible in an age when transient hotel accommodations include a bathroom, but sanitation is a recent development. A southern Ohio lawyer went to Columbus a few years ago, and when he registered at the hotel the clerk asked him if he wanted a room with bath. The guest thoughtfully rubbed the stubble on his chin, and replied: 'No; I'll be home by Saturday.' A similar story is told of a newly rich lady who was showing a friend of her days of poverty the very elaborate bathroom in her new home. It was a sizzling hot August night. 'La! how you must enjoy that tub!' she exclaimed. 'Indeed I do,' was the response; 'I can hardly wait for Saturday night to come.'" To these may be added the incident of the man who was persuaded to order a bathtub during the heat of August, but refused to accept a delayed October shipment on the ground that the article was now of no use to him, "since the bathing season was over."

It is stated that the senatorial baths at Washington, which of recent years have been undeveloped and deserted, are again to be put to use. Perhaps our wearers of the toga will lead the way in a revival of the best classical traditions.

Legislation making bathing compulsory has not been suggested, probably because Americans have voluntarily shown themselves to be reasonably civilized in this regard. The thousands who throng the bathing beaches are evidently not in sympathy with the man who thanked God he had never insulted his skin by putting cold water on it; still less would they approve of the unkempt vagrant, who misunderstood his sentence of thirty days to be for "fragrancy."—*Case and Comment.*

THREE VETERANS OF THE ALLEGHENY COUNTY BAR



JOSEPH FORSYTHE

HON. JOSIAH COHEN

JOHN H. KERR

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 4 No. 3 JULY. 1921 Price 75 Cents

HALF A CENTURY OF THE ALLEGHENY COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION

On March 6, 1921, the Allegheny County Bar Association celebrated its half century of existence by giving a banquet at the Hotel Schenley. The organization came into existence by virtue of the passage on February 28, 1870, by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, of the act creating it. It was originally intended to celebrate the founding of the organization on February 28, 1920, but the date of the creation of the association was overlooked and the event was not commemorated until this year. Only two of the original members, John H. Kerr and Joseph Forsythe, are alive today, and they were both present at the dinner and delivered addresses. Hon. Josiah Cohen, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, and one of the oldest members of the bar of this county, was toastmaster. Rowland A. Balph*, the President of the Bar Association, called the meeting to order and in a few felicitous words introduced Judge Cohen. Judge Cohen opened the proceedings with the following address:

Emotions that can find no expression are the silent witnesses of the gratification I experience at the undeserved honor conferred upon me by your admirable presiding officer. I feel, however, that I am quite unequal to the occasion, by reason of a physical indisposition under which I have labored for the past two months.

*Mr. Balph died May 3, 1921.

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

I am indeed proud to function as toastmaster on this occasion, in the presence of a most—if not the most—distinguished body of jurists in this or any other state. You succeed and represent, as you are assembled here tonight, some of the greatest lawyers that have ever shone in the diadem of the judicial crown. The giants of yore have passed away. Nature, however, abhors a vacuum, and no man is so great that his sphere cannot be filled by his successors. The young men of today, in our profession, have stepped into the breach caused by death, and are nobly maintaining the reputation of those great advocates who have passed from our midst to "the undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveler returns."

Notwithstanding Judge Sharwood's remark in his Blackstone in which he says: "The fame of a lawyer, however much he may live in the public eye, and however large may seem the space he occupies in the public consideration, is nevertheless very narrow and very circumscribed. He is prominently useful in his own day and generation and among his contemporaries. He supports and defends the accused and oppressed; he maintains the cause of the poor and friendless; he assists those that are ready to perish; he counsels the ignorant, he guides and saves those who are wandering and out of the way, and when 'he has run his course and sleeps in blessings,' his bones 'have a tomb of orphans' tears wept on them.' How much untold good is done by an honest, wise, and generous man, in the full practice of this profession, which even those to whom he has consecrated his time and thoughts without the hope of adequate compensation never appreciate. How often, contrary to his own interest, does he succeed in calming the surges of passion, and leading the bitter partisan to measures of peace and compromise. How often does his beneficence possess that best and purest characteristic of the heavenly grace, that his right hand knoweth not what his left hand doeth. And yet—beyond the circle of his own profession, the student of which may occasionally meet with a few brief evidences of his learning and industry in print on the pages of some dusty-report book, and pause to spell his name and wonder who he was—yet posterity will scarcely ever hear of him, and his severest efforts, his brightest intellectual achievements will sing forever into the night of oblivion."

Remember, young men, that the genuine advocate achieves a nobler conquest, himself impressed with the truth of the cause he pleads, his conviction lends dignity to his language and force of his arguments. What he says comes from the heart and goes to the heart of his hearers. Doing the duty of neither a hireling nor a partisan, he personifies his own views, and, if these be really honorable, he cannot fail to succeed.

In the whirligig of time, what changes! "When I remember all the friends so linked together, I've seen around me fall like leaves in wintry weather", I feel

> "Like one who treads alone some banquet hall deserted,
> Whose lights are gone, whose garlands fled,
> And all but he departed."

Yes, they are all dead and have passed away. But, after all, what is Life?

> "It is the wink of an eye, the draught of the breath
> From the bosom of health to the paleness of death,
> From the gilded saloon to the bier and the shroud,
> Then why should the spirit of mortal be proud?"

What a wonderful transformation of the bench and bar from the year 1866 to that of 1921! Mighty men have passed over our judicial stage but I cannot remember them all.

I was admitted to the bar in January, 1866, after having pursued the study of law in the offices of Kirkpatrick & Mellon, which were located in the building which stood at the southeast corner of Grant and Diamond streets, the site being now occupied by a part of the City-County Building. It subsequently was transformed into Maloney's saloon, which I have no doubt many of you remember.

Shortly after my admission that famous character, that man of wonderfully magnetic personality, Thomas M. Marshall, who was then a leading member of the bar, sent for me. I was at that time teaching school. He said, "I understand you have been admitted to the bar." I replied, "Yes, sir." "Well, why don't you go into the practice?" said he; to which I replied, "While the grass grows the horse starves."

"What do you mean," said he. "Why, I mean, I am

earning $700 a year as a teacher." To which he responded, "Come into my office and I will pay you $1,000 a year."

I did so. I learned much from that remarkable man, a man who, at times without system, or discipline, would rush into the trial of a case, sometimes without preparation, and overcome his antagonist by the very force of his genius, for he was indeed a perfect wilderness of talent.

Associated with him at that time, was Major A. M. Brown, the father of our present Judge Marshall Brown, and John D. Brown and Thomas Brown, distinguished members of this bar. Major Brown was a brilliant lawyer, but still more wonderful was the energy, activity, and learning that he displayed in the trial of cases. The record of the firm of Marshall & Brown will be found running through the Pennsylvania Reports from about the period of my admission to the time of its dissolution.

I found an abundance of work to do in that office, especially on Saturday afternoons, when the clients of the firm would come in by dozens inquiring into the progress of their several cases. Mr. Marshall would arrive after clients had been waiting from about one to three o'clock. Flushed and with a power worthy of a magician he would, in almost the twinkling of an eye, satisfy all of those clients and discharge them with a gentle wave of the hand, notifying them either that the papers had been lost, or that the case had been continued, or that the lawyer on the other side was sick, or that the Judge was considering his case, and make a multitude of other excuses, which enabled him to enjoy a rest on those Saturday afternoons after long days of arduous and energetic labor.

I was examined for admission to the bar by the venerable ExJustice of the Supreme Court of the United States, George Shiras, Jr., the lamented and distinguished Thomas Lazear, Judge Veach and, I believe, the elder Chas. F. Fetterman.

Among the questions propounded to me by Mr. Shiras, was the following:

"Mr. Cohen, what remedy would you employ in the case of a tenant for life who held over?"

I was stumped. I couldn't answer that question. But in the agony of my distress I said, "I believe I would kill him."

I remember the first petition that I presented in the Court of Common Pleas at a time when his Honor, Judge Mellon, the father of the present able Secretary of the Treasury A. W. Mellon, was sitting on the bench. He was engaged in writing, as he usually was. He lifted his eyes and said, "What did you say that petition is for?"

I said, "For a charter, your Honor, a charter for a Jewish burial ground."

"A place to bury Jews?" said he.

"Yes sir," I replied.

"With pleasure, with pleasure," responded the Judge as he signed the petition.

I oft-times at first felt strange when pursuing my duties as a lawyer, and frequently felt that I had found my way into the wrong place.

The practice of our profession has proven through the ages that "new occasions teach new duties", that "time makes ancient good uncouth," that "he must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of truth, nor attempt the future's portal with the past's blood-rusted key."

In the light of these truths legislation and judicial decisions are constantly creating new methods of procedure, until we are at last arriving at the ascertainment of substantial justice in the trial of cases with the minimum of those legal technicalities which were engrafted on legal procedure—for a wise purpose, no doubt, then—but the reason for their introduction having perished the method must gradually yield to the more modern system of blending exact equity in the disposition of common law proceedings.

But it is not my province as toastmaster longer to detain you, for the eminent speakers of the evening will better be enabled to emphasize the importance of this occasion.

In conclusion I would say let us never forget that after all, we must so conduct the duties of our profession that we may be enabled to meet the great mystery of mysteries without shame for the past or terror for the future.

John H. Kerr, spoke on "The Origin and Founder of the Bar Association." He said:

"When I remember all the friends so linked
together
I've seen around me fall, like leaves in wintry
weather,"—

I am reminded that I am growing old, and, bereft as I am of so many of my former associates, I feel a deep sense of my loneliness this evening. Victor Hugo has given us a beautiful description of old age. In referring to his own age and experience in life, he said that when he reached the age of seventy he felt the burden of increasing years, but when he reached the age of eighty he felt the return of the buoyancy of youth, and a new zest in life and life's activities, and he, reflecting upon this, had come to the conclusion that at seventy he had entered upon the old age of youth, but at eighty he was entering upon the youth of old age. This coincides with my own experience and views of life in my early and later years.

When I returned home, in June, 1865, after serving three years in the Union Army in the Civil War, it was my good fortune to be taken as a law student into the office of John H. Hampton, one of the great lawyers of his time. John Dalzell, whom I had known as a friend of my boyhood days, had returned the same year from Yale University, with merited honors. So we began the same week our studies together. John Dalzell, by reason of earlier registration, was admitted to the bar on February 6, 1867, and I was admitted June 6, 1867. John Dalzell, the same day he was admitted, became the partner of Mr. Hampton, and achieved a reputation as a lawyer, only less lustrous than his fame as a statesman in his twenty or more years as a member of Congress.

Mr. Hampton was the founder of our Bar Association. He drafted the bill incorporating the "Pittsburgh Law Association," and as I happened to be a member of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania in 1870, and the only lawyer in the delegation of six members from the county, he gave me the bill to introduce and have passed. As it was my first bill, I rushed it through the House, and had Senator Howard rush it through the Senate, and then I took it over to Governor John W. Geary and had him approve it on February 28, 1870. So you will see I lost no time in having it enacted into a law.

On May 6, 1882, the name of the Association was changed to the "Allegheny County Bar Association."

Out of forty-one charter members, Joseph Forsythe and I are the only survivors, and we are still in practice.

John H. Hampton was a son of Moses Hampton, President Judge of the District Court of this county, and was born on the 25th of October, 1828. He graduated from Washington College, Pennsylvania, in the class of 1847, James G. Blaine being a classmate. He was admitted to our bar on December 23, 1850. At the age of thirty he was made the Pittsburgh solicitor of the Pennsylvania Railroad and all the branches of the Pennsylvania System, and continued as such to the day of his death on April 11, 1891. Besides his railroad business he had a large general practice.

He was a great lawyer among great lawyers of his day; a brilliant orator, and the greatest cross-examiner of witnesses in Pennsylvania. He was noted for imperturbability and presence of mind in court, and nothing that arose in the trial ever disconcerted him or ruffled his temper; his self-reliance sometimes amounted to audacity, but never arrogance, as he was under all circumstances a gentleman. This I can illustrate by an accident that happened in our state Supreme Court. He had a case involving the question as to whether Caveat Venditor, the rule of the Civil Law, or Caveat Emptor, the rule of the Common Law, applied to the facts of the case. Just as he was closing his argument, Justice Sharswood asked him this question: "What is the literal meaning of caveat?" Mr. Hampton walked up close to the bench, and pointing with his finger to Justice Sharswood, uttered just one word, "Beware!" The learned Justice asked no more questions, and Mr. Hampton took his seat. Those in the court room who saw and heard Mr. Hampton, including judges, pronounced this one of the finest pieces of acting they had ever witnessed.

I remember Mr. Hampton, at the close of his work one day, coming into the room, where we students were pouring over our books, and asking what we were reading. John Dalzell replied that we were reading "Greenleaf on Evidence." Then he told us some of his rules in examining witnesses. He said: "Never assume a hostile attitude towards the witnesses of the other side, nor brow-beat them; never cross-examine the too willing witness of the other side, except in criminal cases where the prosecutor and the defendant are the only persons cognizant of the facts, and, as under the law at that time (since changed) the defendant could not be a witness for himself, then in such cases cross-examine the prosecuting witness at length. In a notable case in 1863,

Mr. Hampton kept the prosecuting witness on the stand two whole days under cross-examination, and won a verdict for the defendant on that cross-examination alone.

Among the great lawyers of our bar with whom Mr. Hampton practiced, though he was younger than most of them, yet was the peer of any, I might mention, of those practicing in the civil branch of the law: Judge Charles Shaler; Edwin M. Stanton, afterwards President Lincoln's great War Secretary; Judge Hopewell Hepburn, Hon. Thomas Williams, Hon. Andrew W. Loomis; George P. Hamilton, and his law partner, Marcus W. Acheson, afterwards Judge of the United States Court; George Shiras, Jr., afterwards Justice of the United States Supreme Court; C. B. M. Smith, Robert Woods, David D. Bruce, Hon. Samuel A. Purviance, Major A. M. Brown, and in later years, David T. Watson, of international fame. And of the criminal lawyers: Col. Samuel W. Black, Thomas M. Marshall, Sr., Marshall Swartzwelder, H. Bucher Swoope, William D. Moore and Robert M. Gibson. All of these are now dead, with the exception of Justice Shiras, retired, who is still living in his eighty-ninth year.

Col. Samuel W. Black was the son of the Rev. John Black, D.D.; and David D. Bruce was the son of the Rev. Robert Bruce, D.D. Dr. Black and Dr. Bruce were the founders of the Western University of Pennsylvania, now the University of Pittsburgh.

Though Mr. Hampton was a very busy man, he always took a great interest in all matters relating to our bar. In addition to being the founder of our Bar Association in 1870, he was also the founder of our Law Library in 1867. I remember that in response to his invitation to the lawyers and to his students, I was present at its opening, in the two small rooms, 15 feet by 15 feet each, on the ground floor of the building known as Tilgman Hall, which stood at the corner of Grant and Diamond streets, now covered by the end of the Bakewell Building. There were two bookcases, containing the Pennsylvania State Reports, Purdon's and Brightley's digests, and the Massachusetts State Reports with digests, some of the leading text books, and Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, making about 500 volumes in all; a hat rack and towel rack; a table and a half dozen chairs in each room completed the outfit. Mr. Hampton drafted, and had the act passed by the Legislature, entitled: "An

Act relative to the purchase of a Law Library in the County of Allegheny," approved April 15, 1867.

By the provisions of the act a certain portion of the fines and forfeitures to which the county was entitled by existing law was set apart for the purchase of books and the maintenance of the Library. By subsequent acts of the Legislature the amount of the fund for the use and maintenance of the Library was increased from time to time.

We are admonished by Holy Writ to "Despise not the day of small things," and from this humble beginning our Law Library has grown to 46,465 volumes, and while not the largest, it ranks second to none in the whole country as a working library. Under the efficient management and methods of Mr. J. Oscar Emrich, the Librarian, and his staff, and with the beautiful rooms in which the Library is housed, there remains nothing further to be desired.

I might turn aside here to contrast the great increase in the business of our courts at the present time with that when I was admitted to the bar on June 6, 1867; and the change in the methods and facilities which we have now as compared with those which we had in the earlier period.

In 1867 there were three judges of the Common Pleas Court, whose jurisdiction embraced all the civil and criminal cases, and all the business of the Orphans' Court, and two judges of the District Court having concurrent jurisdiction with the Common Pleas Court over civil cases.

We have now fourteen judges of the Common Pleas Court, three judges of the Orphans' Court, and five judges of the County Court; and the criminal business has become so great that two additional judges from adjacent counties have been called in to assist in the trials during the most of each year.

In 1867 there were about 300 attorneys practicing at our bar; now we have about 1840. In 1867 there were 200 Deed Books in the Recorder's Office, and 75 Mortgage Books; now there are 2110 Deed Books and 1816 Mortgage Books. In 1867 there were 21 Appearance Dockets in the office of the Clerk of the Orphans' Court; now there are 255.

From 1867 to 1873 we had no official stenographic reporters in our courts, and the judges had to write the records of the trials laboriously in longhand; some judges using a quill with which to write, and the sand box for blotter; I believe that Captain Edward Y. Breck was the first

official reporter appointed for the Court of Common Pleas,, in 1873, coming from the state of New York.

The lawyers of the early days had their offices in the front rooms of the first floor of their residences. The first office building specially constructed with safes, and provided with wash-stands, etc., in each room, was one built by Mr. James I. Kuhn, about the year 1862, at the corner of Diamond Street and Scrip Alley, where the Frick Annex is now. This building was of three stories, containing 20 offices, 10 on the first floor and 10 on the second floor. Mr. Kuhn occupied the third floor as his living apartment, he being a bachelor. Such a thing as a skyscraper or an elevator was not dreamed of at this time.

Mr. Hampton, Mr. C. B. M. Smith, Capt. Samuel Harper, Mr. Alexander Miller and Mr. John M. Kennedy had offices on the first floor; and Messrs. Kuhn and Cassidy were the only lawyers who occupied the second floor, as lawyers were averse at that day to renting offices above the first floor.

Typewriters and telephones have only come into general use within the last thirty years. The improved Index System, in the Recorder's Office, has been introduced and put in full operation within the last ten years, and is just now being extended to the Prothonotary's and other offices.

When I was admitted to the bar, 53 years ago, and for some ten years thereafter, all the offices were kept open until 6:00 P. M. And, as the officers were entitled to all the fees, they were willing to remain beyond the closing hour. I have known that you could go into the Prothonotary's Office as late as 6:30 P. M. and have judgment entered by confession on a judgment note, and have execution issued, and take the writ to the Sheriff's Office and find a Deputy Sheriff who would take it and make a levy on the goods of the defendant the same night. The courts opened at 9:00 A. M., ran to 12:00 noon; adjourned for lunch to 1:00 P. M., and then ran until 6:00 P. M.

Chief Justice Daniel Agnew, in his address at the Banquet in 1878, given for him by the bar of Allegheny County, on his retiring from the Bench, spoke thus of the reciprocal relations of the Bench and Bar:

"It is often said the judiciary is the conservative branch of our government, yet few fathom the true depth of this remark. It is so, but why? Its conservation and correction are found in the bar. They make the bench what it is;

whether we regard its learning, its research, its profundity, or its love of liberty and law. What error of the bench has ever stood against the keen analysis and the united opinion of the bar? The bar leads the judiciary, while the latter in legal form conserves the state, and in its reflex action again refines the bar. They act and react upon each other, just as the images in opposite mirrors are seen in long lines of reproduction, until they fade and disappear in the distance. How much the judge owes the counsel is seldom seen in his judgment, yet, behind what is often termed the learned opinion of the court, stands the research and solid argument of counsel, like the prompter behind the scene."

On the same occasion, Mr. John H. Hampton, my revered preceptor, paid this tribute to the bench:

"The highest judicial tribunal of a government is the embodiment of its power to maintain the legal rights, defend the property, and promote the welfare of its citizens. It represents, too, the learning, the purity, and honor of our noble profession. Many who have given their lives to its duties, live, in history, as much adorning its pages as victorious leaders of armies, or statesmen who were the glory and strength of their age. The ministers of the law wear not laurels dipped in blood, nor win renown by the wiles of diplomacy; to them comes fame by the power to clearly comprehend and firmly place on enduring foundations the great principles which support the fabric of society, and so to administer the law that it becomes a buckler and shield to him whose cause is just.

"How gratifying to all the people of Pennsylvania, that we can point with pride to it's Supreme Court, as worthy of the highest commendation, as representing the majesty of the law, and a purity of judicial history that casts a fadeless lustre on the bench, and on all who have been upon it."

Let such noble sentiments animate us in elevating still higher the standard of professional excellence, and in maintaining the purity, integrity and honor of our whole bar. Let us keep before us that ideal of JUSTICE apostrophized by Sydney Smith:

"Justice is the great interest of man on earth. Truth is its handmaid, freedom is its child, peace is its companion, safety walks in its steps, victory follows in its train; it is the brightest emanation from the Gospel; it is the attribute of God."

My limited time will not permit me to speak at length upon the splendid war record of our bar. From the 250 members who composed it from 1861 to 1865, 106 went into the Union Army in the Civil War, or 40 per cent. of the whole number. One hundred eighty-nine of our attorneys entered the United States Army in the World War, of less than two years duration from our nation's entry therein. I regret that I have been unable to ascertain the number that participated in the Spanish-American War.

In closing, my feelings urge me to offer a few words as my personal tribute to the patriotism and valor of those of our bar who went down to glorious death and up to deathless glory from the battlefields where they fought and died, and whose names and deeds are inscribed in never fading letters upon our Roll of Honor.

To the brave and eloquent Colonel Samuel W. Black, who served in the Mexican War as lieutenant colonel of the 2nd Pennsylvania Regiment, and who, in response to President Lincoln's first call for volunteers, resigned as governor of Nebraska, came home and raised the 62nd Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. He went to the front and fell at Gaines' Mill, Virginia on June 27, 1862, leading his men in a gallant charge against the enemy.

To Colonel Oliver H. Rippey, who served as a private under Colonel Samuel W. Black in the Mexican War, and, like him, in response to President Lincoln's first call for volunteers, raised the 61st Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, and, at the battle of Fair Oaks, Virginia, on May 31, 1862, was killed while rallying his men against the assault of a vastly superior force.

To the youthful Lieutenant, James P. Over, who, in leading a detachment to drive out a nest of German machine gunners, met his death on July 30, 1918, at Sergy Heights, France. He was a brave son of a patriotic sire, Judge James W. Over of the Orphans' Court, who himself had carried a saber for three years in the Civil War, and whose own death was hastened by the sad news borne to him from across the seas.

And now:

"Their good swords are rust,
Their bodies are dust,
But their souls are with their God, we trust."

Joseph Forsythe had as his subject "Some of My Recollections of the Early Bar." After referring to his ancestors and how they had originally come from Virginia, he continued:

As they came from Virginia in 1774, I went to Virginia in 1861. Lincoln's first call for volunteers was so soon filled in Pennsylvania that Governor Curtin could not accept the "Pittsburgh Plummer Guards" of which I was a member. We went to Wheeling on June 10, 1861, Virginia having seceded in April we cast in our lot with the loyal West Virginians. When that government was organized we became G. Co. of the 2nd Loyal Virginians. When that government gave its consent to the erection of a new state, out of the territory of the Old Dominion, we became G. Co. of 2nd West Virginia Infantry. Later our company became G. Co. of the 1st West Virginia Light Artillery,—still later Horse Artillery attached to General W. W. Averell's mounted brigade. Our Captain was Chatham T. Ewing of this bar. In our company was William Shields of this bar, and Charles McClure Hays also of this bar,—he became adjutant of the 2nd Infantry when the regiment was organized. In that service, and field, I saw or met other members of this bar in various commands. I recall Captain Robert Pollock, Marshall Johnston, S. A. Johnston, Lt. Col. William Blakely, and Arch. Roward, one of Sheridan's scouts.

When I came back from the army I read law with "Glorious Old Tom," and was admitted to the bar on October 10, 1867. Thomas M. Marshall was then associated in practice with Major A. M. Brown in McTighe's Block at the southwest corner of Fifth Avenue and Grant Street. Our entrance to the 2nd story was on Fifth Avenue opposite St. Paul's Cathedral. At the head of the stairs we entered on the left. In our office Josiah Cohen had begun practicing; W. P. Miller, J. P. Johnston, Wm. Carr, Walter S. McCune and myself were students. On the right at the head of the stairway Samuel A. Purviance and his son Winfield S. Purviance had offices. With them was James W. Murray, who later took over the *Legal Journal* from Thomas J. Keenan. On the Grant Street front were Samuel Fulton, H. H. McCormick, John S. Robb, Chris. Snively, John Mitchell, and others. Below Cherry Alley on the other side of Fifth Avenue were F. H. Collier, later a judge of the Common Pleas Court; Jacob Miller, Archibald McBride, and a student with

them, W. D. Porter, now a judge of the Superior Court. To name everybody seems a religious duty but, as usual, I can't do it. There was Marcus W. Acheson, who assisted me in my first ejectment. I am indebted to him for many kindnesses. There was George Shiras, Jr., born in 1832 who became a justice of the United States Supreme Court and is still living in his 90th year,—the Hamiltons, Fettermans, Watsons, Robbs, Veeches, Schoyers, Woodses, Bells, Morrisons, Montooths, Mellons, Reardons, W. B. Rodgers, Arch. Blakely, W. D. Moore, Stephen Geyer—I cannot name or order them. To those I omit I apologize. As the kaleidoscope turns with revolving years all changes—the town changes—I grow a stranger in it—the people change—I change. There is nothing else to do. The grandfathers are gone, the grand old forests are gone, the game that fed us before we supplanted it with other games; the Iroquois, the French, the English, Virginia's claims of jurisdiction running successively through Spottsylvania, Orange, Augusta, West Augusta, to Youghioghenia—the lost county. In Pennsylvania, jurisdiction successively passed from Chester County through Lancaster, Cumberland, Bedford, Westmoreland and Washington to Allegheny since September 24, 1788.

On December 24, 1768, the Indian title was purchased. The Land Office was opened April 3, 1769. Even before the purchase there were squatters intruding on the Indians, but then began a swarming of speculators, and squatters or actual settlers. Anybody with a tomahawk, hatchet, or axe, could blaze lines about choice spots, but the squatter or settler cleared, planted, fenced, built, and lived on the premises. A fine crop of litigation was sown. But with the law came the lawyer. In 1774 James Forsythe came from Virginia, squatted, cleared, planted, built, and lived on a tract apparently vacant, but subsequently a claim of entry was made on some part of it in 1769. Under the advice of David Redick, one of the first crop of lawyers here, James Forsythe bought the claim in 1783 and through Redick purchased a warrant of survey in 1784 which was executed in 1785, the year the boundary question was adjusted with Virginia, and procured his patent in 1787 for 328 acres and allowance. A resurvey in 1789 showed the actual settlement embraced 362 acres and allowance.

The laws of nature and natures God inhere in all things

from the smallest to the largest, even in human beings, and are automatically executed. Blackstone's definition of law as a rule of conduct prescribed by a superior for an inferior, fits better to an autocracy than to a democracy, where all have equal rights to life, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness, and governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Only as a government approximates democracy is there a place, use, power, or influence for a professional class of lawyers. With the pioneers they came, were themselves pioneers in settling the land, as well as the law, until a subdivision of labor made it necessary for everybody to attend to his own particular business,—then the lawyers came to their own.

The bar is only a small part of
"Being's ceaseless tide,

Which ever flowing runs, linked like a river,
By ripple following ripple fast or slow,
The same, yet not the same, from far off fountain,
To where its waters flow into the seas.—into eternity."

Of the men of the olden time, of the individual emanations and materializations evolved by the Master Thaumaturgist, and made visible and audible in this community fifty, sixty, seventy years ago,—spirits that appeared for a little, and faded, and vanished and returned whence they came, I would I could give you pictures, as in a movie show with a phonographic annex, that you might see, and hear them as they were, and acted, and spoke. But my photographic and audiphonic records are imperfect, my pictures faded, and my records dulled with my hearing.

Like the gravedigger I might dig up skulls; like Hamlet I might say of a particular one, "Alas poor Yordick! I knew him well, Horatio. He was a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy." But I have no witchery to raise them as she of Endor did the shade of Samuel. Even the resurrectionists raise only dead bodies; and it is the living, moving, acting, and speaking men of the past I would fain place before you. In all their pride of health, strength, achievement, hope, and courage, as on the stage of life, they acted their parts heroic, comic, or tragic. Like the Cliff Dwellers—

"They were but they are not, the ages
Are dumb, but their pleasure or pain,
Are scrolled on the unwritten pages
We search for in nature in vain.

* * * * *

They were young, they grew old. In their fashion
They laughed, and they sighed, and they wept .
They were eager for fame, and for riches,
Their altars with gifts were aglow,
But their ashes are heaped in the niches
And their fires flickered out long ago."

"Thou knowest 'tis common, all that live must die. Passing through nature to eternity." Manfully they dared, and endured the dangers and hardships of life, and with the cheerfulness of women, and children, and inferior creatures, approached their graves—

"Like one that wraps the drapery of his couch about him
And lies down to pleasant dreams."

Theirs was the courage to live, and love, and to work, and to fight for their loved ones and for their country. Theirs, too, the selfishness without which life perishes, and cannot support a family. (I will ask you here to refrain from ill-natured reflections on bachelors.)

They were good sports and had they thought of it would have said as some one has said:

"When I am gone,
I would not have the song birds hushed
Nor turnips cease their growth,
I would not have the earth stopped in its course
Lest too one sided baking should result
And, let the moon play round,
She'll not annoy me romping with the waves
When I am gone."

Mark Antony said, "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones." There is truth in that, but not the whole truth. As surely the good influence of our dead is with us, as is that of the Barons who

from King John wrung the great charter of our liberties; as surely as is that of those who shaped and signed the Declaration of Independance, and the constitution of the United States. Just so surely is that of every one who in civil or military life lived or died for that constitution and the principles embodied in it.

In conclusion, I know this comes short of what might naturally be hoped in the way of reminiscences personal to the members of the bar whom I have seen and known in over 53 years of pleasant association with the profession,—but I am growing forgetful. Only recently, when Professor Thorp addressed you, I wanted very much to see and hear him, but I quite forgot the meeting, and I will ask you, if I shall be absent when you meet to celebrate the 100th anniversary of this association to remember my weakness.

The other speakers were the Hon. John D. Shafer, President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, and Charles A. O'Brien.

A VISIT TO ECONOMY IN THE SPRING OF 1840.

By
REV. WILLIAM A. PASSAVANT

After a tedious ride of several hours through the oak ridges of the northeastern part of Beaver County, the monotony of leafless hills and poorly cultivated farms, gave place to the beautiful scenery in the valley of the Ohio River. Here, vegetation was already far advanced and presented a striking contrast to the country in the rear. After gaining the open lands of the river bottom our road led us through the rich and level plantations which line its banks. On the opposite side of the Ohio a lofty ridge covered with oaks and pines followed the windings of the river as far as the eye could reach. Clumps of sugar maple clothed in a livery of the richest green which had survived the destruction of their fellows, were scattered over the valley in every direction, while fields of grain on the uplands often surrounded by primative forests, presented a quiet yet beautiful scene which wanted only the painters skill to be eternalized on canvas. The bottoms along the Ohio are principally rich alluvium and the different layers of soil as they were successively deposited during some mighty convulsion of nature may be distinctly traced to those rivulets, which in the course of years, have won for themselves a passage to the river. The alluvium often to a considerable distance up the hills is mingled with round stones called by geologists *boulders*. These are often of granite, selenite, and other rocks which belong to the primary formation. How these were conveyed to a secondary formation by the waters of the Ohio is not for us to say—but this is certain, there has not been a rise in its waters of three hundred feet above its present level, within the recollection of man—and at this height they may be found along the entire course of the river. The very first field of the Economites was used as a camp by the army of General Anthony Wayne for the whole winter previous to his expedition against the Indian tribes of the West. The field contains about ten acres and was defended on two sides by the nature of the ground, the other two were surrounded by an embankment of earth eight feet high and a ditch which are still visible. At a distance of half a mile from Economy, our attention was

arrested by observing a clump of hickory saplings growing on a small elevation in a clover field off the road. On examination it proved to be one of those tumuli which are so frequently met with in the Western country. It was one of the common sized mounds but perfectly circular and oval and exhibited more regularity and care in its construction, than is commonly the case. The situation of this mound could not but strike the mind as indicative of that noble and poetical spirit, which these rude children of nature manifested in selecting some beautiful spot to bury their dead. It overlooks the Ohio for several miles of its course and its majestic flow of waters has lost nothing of its grandeur, nor does it move onward with less of beauty though a new race has succeeded the children of nature, and the steamboat has usurped the place of the bark canoe.

The first impression made on the stranger at his entrance into Economy is rather favorable. It lies on the right bank of the Ohio and is eighteen miles distant from Pittsburgh and ten from the town of Beaver. The town is divided into regular squares by three streets running due north and south, which are again intersected by five others lying east and west. Of these the principal one, being the one on which the house of Rapp and all the public buildings are placed, is situated in the centre of the place. It is worthy of notice that on this street the most influential members, and those who originally invested the largest capital in the concern reside, while those on the other hand whose interest was little or nothing, inhabit the squares most distant from the centre. The dwelling houses are generally of brick or frame, painted white or yellow, and it does not fail to strike the traveller as singular to see the doors of the houses opening toward the garden or yard, instead of on the street. A large garden is attached to every dwelling and these, besides the greatest abundance and variety of kitchen plants, are filled with the most beautiful flowers and shrubs. Besides the garden every family has a small yard which is planted with the finest plum and pear trees, and most of the houses have grapevines trained on the sunny side. Long rows of mulberry trees are planted on both sides of the streets, and the grass which is growing in the public ways, gives you at once an idea of the quiet and secluded habits of the Economites.

The original members of the community headed by the elder Rapp, were dissenters from the Lutheran church and emigrated from Wurtemberg to America on account of their religious opinions. Their first settlement was made near Zelienople, in Butler County, in this state, where they founded the town of Harmony. After a residence of a number of years in that place, during which time substantial brick houses had taken the place of thatched cabins, they sold their property and moved to the Wabash River. Here they erected another town likewise called Harmony, and which in later times was the scene of the unsuccessful experiment in socialism with Robert Owen for its patron saint. From this place they again removed on account of the prevalence of malarial fevers which carried off one-third of their number, and they finally settled in the place they now occupy.

It might perhaps be interesting to know something of the religious tenets of this singular people, but on this point very little information can be given. They read the Scriptures and I think believe in what they call the great doctrines of the Bible, but their ideas even on the essential truths of the Gospel, are exceedingly mystical and wild. It would not be out of place here to mention Rapp's views on the subject of marriage. When the sect first arrived in the country, the majority were in very indigent circumstances. In order to support themselves with more ease they voluntarily resolved to abstain from marriage and all intercourse with each other for seven years after their arrival. But the argus eyed Rapp quickly perceived that this was a prosperous business and before the seven years seige was over, he had plied them so closely with scripture, omens, dreams, etc. that with very few exceptions the community of seven hundred persons voluntarily resisted the promptings of nature and merged into a society of bachelors and old maids.

It is true that some more romantic stripling than his phlegmatic fellow, would now and then make love to some plump German maiden, and like Adam and his partner, take their solitary way from this abode of dry bones—this desert of affection, into the wide world, but as was mentioned before these instances of romantic love are by no means frequent. Such offenders are only too quickly handed over to the safe keeping of the devil, to suffer their example to exert any influences on others who

might also have a soft heart toward the other sex. Through the influence of an acquaintance I was permitted to attend church on Wednesday evening, a time at which no strangers are suffered to be present. For some time before the bell rang for worship there might be seen numbers of aged women dressed in dark clothes, and walking at a snail's pace and leaning on their staffs. After these come the other females of the society and at the first notes of the bell the men old and young were seen collecting from all quarters. Presently old Mr. Rapp, supported by two of the members, entered the church and took his seat directly before the Bible which was placed on a desk on the platform. He was dressed in the common garb of the society and wore a woolen night cap which he always removed before praying. His sermon was excellent and he enforced the duty of following the Saviour and of living near the cross, with great earnestness. He remained seated during the whole discourse and when the subject seemed to demand greater animation, his eyes flashed with intelligence and his voice was raised to a pitch that would be deemed almost incredible for a man in his ninetieth year. During the course of the discourse he took occasion to introduce his favorite doctrines and asked with seeming indignation, "Was Christ married?" His stupid congregation had not the sense to see through his empty reasoning and swallowed the remark entire. It would seem that one who strenuously insists on following Christ in his habits of love, would not enter so deeply into the whisky business—but precept and practice are two different things in his creed. The appearance of Rapp is well calculated to the situation he occupied. Though his age is now ninety, his step is still firm and a snow white beard reaching down to his waist gives him the appearance of a venerable prophet. Long before this time his name and that of his society had become known, not only in the United States, but in Europe as well. Lord Byron in his "Don Juan" has this to say of Rapp and the community which he governs.

"When Rapp the Harmonist embargo'd
marriage
In his harmonious settlement (which
flourishes
Strangely enough as yet without mis-
carriage,

Because it breeds no more mouths than
it nourishes,
Without those sad expenses which dis-
parage
What Nature naturally most encour-
ages)—
Why call'd he 'Harmony' a state sans
wedlock?
Now here I've got the preacher at a
dead lock."

Though we cannot but censure his tyranny, yet it must be said that very few indeed whose education is superior to the acquirements of this illiterate weaver could govern such a community under the same restrictions for a single day. His time is spent for the most part in reading the latest religious works from the press in Germany. He says that he is obliged to do this on account of his want of education. It is scarcely necessary to mention that Rapp's system is that of a community of goods and that all members of the society work together for the common interest, by which the welfare of each individual is secured. The amount of land owned by the society amounts to two thousand acres and without doubt is among the best on the Ohio. A large part of this is what might be called high river bottom land which runs back to the hills, and is in many places a mile in breadth. This part is all cleared and cultivated, while on the hills there are yet large tracts of woodland. It is really a pleasure to walk over this immense plantation and see the perfection to which farming is carried. Some of the fields contain fifty or a hundred acres, and are surrounded by the best fences, and on their entire surface not a stump is to be seen. If the land is too steep for the plough, it is covered with rows of white mulberry trees to supply the silk worms with leaves. If there is danger of a run washing away, its banks are lined with willows. Should the ground prove too marshy for the purposes of agriculture, it is planted with a species of osiers for the manufacture of baskets, and a deep ravine between sand hills which would otherwise be of no value has been chosen as the pleasure ground of their herd of hogs, where they may exercise their rooting propensities to their hearts desire, without injury to the soil. In this manner everything is arranged, the different grains and

plants are adapted to their appropriate soils, everything receives a proper degree of attention and shows what can be done by a community of common interests properly governed. The number of farmers is very large and often in harvest fifty reapers may be seen in a single field. The women who are not otherwise employed often work in the field during harvest, and with their sleeves rolled up, and broad rimmed bonnets on their heads present a very picturesque appearance. It must not be forgotten that they are always in a separate company by themselves. Much attention is paid to the raising of fruit trees, and in the fall of the year every variety of apple, pear, plum, peach, quince, etc., may be had for the asking. Some of their orchards are very extensive, especially the apple which covers several hills. The trees are grafted and produce every variety from the Rambo to the juicy Pippin. From the inferior kinds vast quantities of cider are made. The hardest kind of cider too, and hence the reason why the Economites are all Harrison men. This is served out every day from a cellar to the families in proportion to their numbers.

The flock of sheep belonging to the society is very large and numbers many thousands; they are pastured by shepherds during the summer who with their dogs lead a solitary life watching their flocks.

In An Old Street

David Morton

The twilight gathers here like brooding thought
Haunting each shadowed dooryard and its door,
With gone, forgotten beauty that was wrought
Of hands and hearts that come this way no more.
Here an intenser quiet stills the air
With old remembering of what is not:
Of silver slippers gone from every stair,
And silver laughter long and long forgot.

Deeper and deeper where this dusk is drifted,
Gathers a sense of waiting through the night,
About old doors whose latch is never lifted,
And dusty windows vacant of a light.
Deeper and deeper, till the grey turns blue,
And one by one the patient stars peer through.—*The Bookman.*

THE OPERATION OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA, FROM 1850 to 1860

By

IRENE E. WILLIAMS*

Negro slavery engrossed the whole attention of the country during the decade from 1850 to 1860. The "Underground Railroad" was a form of combined defiance of national laws on the ground that they were unjust and oppressive. The Underground Railroad was the opportunity for the bold and adventurous; it had the excitement of piracy, the secrecy of burglarly, the daring of insurrection; it developed coolness, indifference to danger and quickness of resource." (1)

In the course of the sixty years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Rebellion, the Northern states became traversed by numerous secret pathways leading from Southern bondage to Canadian liberty. Even in colonial times there was difficulty in recovering fugitive slaves because of the aid rendered them by friends. (2)

For the acceptance and adoption of the ordinance of 1787 and the United States constitution, clauses relative to the rendition of fugitive slaves were necessary. In 1793 the first Fugitive Slave Law was enacted. This was rendered nugatory in 1842, by the judicial decision in the famous case of "Prigg versus Pennsylvania." Incorporated in the compromise measures of 1850 was the Fugitive Slave Law. (3)

Under this law the alleged fugitive was denied trial by jury; was forbidden to testify in his own behalf; could not summon witnesses, and was subject to the law though he might have escaped years before it was enacted. Should the judge decide against the negro his fee was ten dollars; should he decide for the accused it was but five. To "hinder or prevent the arrest" or to "harbor or conceal a fugitive" was punishable with a fine of one thousand dollars or six months imprisonment. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 stimulated the work of secret emancipation. The Underground Railroad alone serves to explain the enact-

*The author, a student in the University of Pittsburgh, read the above article before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, on June 1, 1920.

ment of that most remarkable piece of legislation, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. (4)

The origin of the name Underground Railroad came into use first among the slave-hunters in the neighborhood of Columbia, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. The pursuers seem to have had little difficulty in tracking slaves as far as Columbia, but beyond that point all track of them was lost. The slave-owners are said to have declared that "there must be an underground railroad somewhere." (5)

In 1851 a serious riot occurred at Christiania in Lancaster county, one of the stations of the Underground Railroad, which caused a profound sensation all over the country. The Quakers definitely aided fugitives and maintained numerous Underground Railroad centers in Southeastern Pennsylvania. (6) The Western part of the state also contained regular routes of travel. The most important of these roads resulted from the convergance of at least three well-defined lines of escape at Uniontown, from Virginia and Maryland. Two courses led northward, both of which terminated at Pittsburgh. From this place fugitives seem to have been sent to Cleveland by rail, or to have been directed to follow the Allegheny River and its tributaries north. Friends were not lacking at convenient points to help them along to the main terminals for this region, namely Erie, Buffalo or across the state line to the much used routes of the Western Reserve in Ohio. East of the Allegheny River significant traces of the Underground Railroad were found running in a northeasterly direction from Greensburg, through Indiana County to Clearfield, a distance of seventy-five miles. From Clearfield an important branch ran northwest to Franklin and Shippensville and thence to Erie. (7)

Many of the communications relating to fugitive slaves were couched in guarded words. There were messages written in figurative language. The following are examples:

"Please forward immediately the U. G. baggage sent to you this day."

"Dear Sir:—By tomorrow evening's mail you will receive two volumes of the "Irrepressible Conflict" bound in black. After perusal, please forward."

Another message was in these words:

"Uncle Tom says if the roads are not too bad, you can look for those fleece of wool, by tomorrow. Send them on to test the market, no back charges." (8)

Characteristic of the Underground Railroad were the covered wagons, closed carriages and deep-bedded farm wagons, which hid the passengers. The routes were far from straight. They are best described as zigzag. The ultimate goal was Canada. (9)

In September after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law the colored people of Pittsburgh and vicinity who had escaped from Southern masters, began to leave in squads for Canada. On the twenty-fourth of that month, forty negroes left the Third Ward, Allegheny (now part of Pittsburgh) in one squad for that haven of safety. By the twenty-sixth over two hundred fugitives had departed from Pittsburgh. The newspapers expressed great surprise that there should be in the city so many fugitive slaves. The negroes were well-armed with rifles, revolvers and knives. Each company had a captain, and before starting all made a firm resolve to die rather than be taken back into slavery. (10) Both the Whig *Gazette* and the Democratic *Post* in editorials declared that the effect of this law would be the strengthening of the anti-slavery sentiment in the North. The *Commercial Journal* another Whig paper said: "The passage of the Slave Bill has caused more excitement than we anticipated. The opinion that the law must be repealed seems to be universal in this neighborhood." (11)

The situation at this time was exciting in the extreme and numerous meetings were held denouncing the enactment of the law. On September 28, 1850 a meeting of colored people and their friends opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law was held in the Pittsburgh Diamond. A tremendous concourse of people assembled. Rev. Charles Avery, who presided made an eloquent address. He said that the Fugitive Slave Law was calculated to suspend both the right of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury; that good citizens would never suffer such a law to go into effect in Pennsylvania. Thomas M. Howe, a candidate for Congress, also spoke, and expressed strong anti-slavery sentiments saying: "Our constitution otherwise so perfect contains one blot, and we should not allow ourselves to be turned from men into slave-catchers." His remarks were greeted with tremendous applause and cries of, "We'll send you to Congress!" Other speakers were; John Farral, John A. Willis and General William Larimer. The following resolutions were adopted by the meeting.

FIRST: That the editors of the newspapers be requested to publish in a conspicuous place the names of all persons who accept nominations as commissioners under the Fugitive Slave Law.

SECOND: Members of the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress, who voted for the passage of the Slave Bill are unworthy of the support of their friends.

THIRD: The Fugitive Slave Bill recently passed by Congress is unconstitutional, and aims a deadly blow at Liberty under the pretext of vested rights.

FOURTH: We will unite and stand shoulder to shoulder until with the blessing of God, the Fugitive Slave Bill shall be expunged from the statute books, and every supporter of the abominations be driven from the national councils." (12)

Two days later a meeting was held in the Allegheny market-house at which Hugh S. Fleming, the mayor of Allegheny, presided, and made a forcible speech in favor of the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. Thomas M. Howe, Mr. Salisbury, the Democratic-workingman's candidate for Congress, and Israel Cullen, also spoke in opposition to the law. Strong resolutions were passed denouncing slavery in the severest terms. (13). The *Commercial Journal* said of the gathering: "We have never seen a larger or more enthusiastic meeting in Allegheny. The demonstration is proof that the indignation of the people is deeply aroused." (14)

The first case to arise in Pittsburgh under the Fugitive Slave Law was that of George White, a mulatto boy. On January 14, 1851, he was apprehended at the instance of a Mr. Rose of Wellsburg, Virginia, who recognized the lad as his former slave. At this time he was apprenticed to J. B. Vashon, a barber, who paid the owner two hundred dollars rather than see the boy taken back into slavery. (15) The *Post* commended Mr. Vashon in these words: "This act of Mr. Vashon's is that of a good law-abiding citizen, and is more praiseworthy and more philanthropic than the coined professions that emanate from mad fanaticism, whose great love for the colored race begins and ends in words, words, words. (16)

Robert M. Riddle, the editor of *The Commercial Journal* held much the same views as the editor of the *Post*, and

while he deprecated the existence of the law, yet counseled obedience to its mandate. The Rev. Dr. David H. Riddle, the pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church preached a sermon to the same effect, which was printed in pamphlet form and largely distributed. The stand taken by the two Riddles aroused the ire of Mrs. Jane Grey Swisshelm, who commented sarcastically on their effusions in her anti-slavery paper, the *Saturday Visitor*, part of her diatribe being republished by the *Commercial Journal*, prefaced by the following explanation:

"Alluding to the fact that some acquaintance has applied to us for assistance to a Southern gentleman in catching a slave, she says:

'Any of our Southern friends, who want business done in their line in our dirty city, should direct their communications to our good friend, Robert M. Riddle, or Judge Baird, with a special request for prayers for their success from Rev. Dr. Riddle.'" (17)

The first case to be tried in Pittsburgh under the Fugitive Slave Law was called before Judge Irwin on March 13, 1851. It was claimed that a colored man, named Woodson, was the slave of Mrs. Byers of Kentucky, and that he had escaped two years before. The defense tried to establish a different identity but the case was decided in favor of Mrs. Byers, and the slave was ordered kept in irons until delivered to the owner. As soon as the decree was handed down Mr. Sproul the clerk of United States Court headed a subscription for the release of the negro. Several other subscription papers were circulated, and it was evident that if Woodson could be retained a few hours, the requisite sum would soon be obtained to purchase his freedom. When the prisoner was taken to the boat, a crowd gathered until from two hundred to three hundred persons had collected. A guard accompanied the slave to the boat. The newspapers generally insisted that the law must be maintained. (18) The *Post* said: "Contrary to the expectations of many persons, the case was determined without the slightest effort being made to resist the law of the land. The claimant fully proved title to the fugitive slave, and after a fair hearing, he was given up, and taken to Kentucky by his owner. We think the result of this case will show that the citizens of Pittsburgh are not disposed to follow the example of the

fanatics of Boston and other places in a treasonable opposition to the law of the land." (19)

The slave Woodson had been captured at Beaver, where he had preached for two years. He had bought a house, and was a thrifty mechanic. He was finally freed by subscriptions raised in Pittsburgh and Beaver. The people in Beaver alone collected two hundred and fifty dollars for the purpose. (20)

On August 1, 1851, the colored people of the vicinity celebrated in Oakland, the emancipation of eight hundred thousand negroes in the West Indies. Woodson, the former slave, was the orator of the day. The meeting was held in a beautiful grove, on the property of James Craft. (21)

The newspapers readily acknowledged the existence of the Underground Railroad. The *Gazette* which appears to have been the only Pittsburgh newspaper which was sincerely anti-slavery in sentiment, spoke sarcastically on the subject: "The Underground Railroad seems to be doing a good business. Southern chattles seem disposed to imitate their masters, and migrate to a cool climate before dog-days. It is wonderful that chattelized humanity is so foolish as to wish for the privilege of taking care of itself when it has such kind, tender masters to take care of it." (22)

In March, 1855 Leonard Boyd accompanied by his wife and a colored nurse, stopped at the St. Charles Hotel. The servants attempted to liberate the girl, but were prevented from doing so. Mr. Boyd had intended to remain in Pittsburgh three days, but fearing the loss of his property, left by boat at once. On the way to the landing, desperate attempts at rescue were again made, but upon the presentation of arms by the police, the rescuers were driven back and the slave was safely placed on the boat. During the progress of the last attempt, severe struggling and rioting occurred. It was stated that the undertaking for boldness had never been surpassed in Pittsburgh. The *Post* made the disparaging comment: "The character of this city should not be stained, nor its business injured by negro mobs. Its business has suffered severely enough from other causes within the last year, without adding the curse and disgrace of negro riots. We hope that the next riot of the kind will be met with plenty of well charged revolvers in ready and resolute hands." (23)

"The Wind blows from the South today," was the unique heading of an article in the *Gazette* of June 20, 1855. It appears that a Southern planter had freed his slaves and sent them in care of an agent to a place of safety. While in Pittsburgh the agent having them in charge refused to make known their destination. In the minds of the officers of the Underground Railroad, a suspicion arose that the agent might take the negroes beyond the place designated in the will. So they were induced to leave the boat, and their agent. The *Gazette* said of the negroes: "They had more sense than to trust themselves and their liberty to the uncertainty of a trip on a Western steamboat bound for the Southwest." (24)

The Slaymaker case was a notable one. Colonel Slaymaker's wife visited friends here on March 6, 1855, accompanied by a colored female, presumed to be a slave. However the information was given out that she was free. This was denied by the colored people who attempted a rescue in the diningroom of the hotel, one morning at breakfast. The colored waiters and a colored barber seized the girl and hurried her out through the rear of the hotel. A meeting was held to consult about the girl, the following being the account of the gathering which appeared in the *Gazette*. (25) "As far as we can learn, it was a meeting of an organization, which has for its object the seizure of slaves passing through the city, and is probably what it known as the Underground Railroad. At the assemblage it was decided that the woman should be rescued at the hotel."

The Slaymakers declared that the girl was already free, and produced papers showing such to be the case. In two hours time the girl was reproduced and returned to Mr. Slaymaker.

On July 14, 1855 a report to the effect that a slave-catcher was stopping at the Monongahela House, occasioned great excitement among the colored people. The abolitionists and colored people called meetings and appointed a committee to wait upon the gentleman to ascertain the nature of his visit. He proved to be H. B. Northrup of New York, one of the most active anti-slavery agitators of the day. He had rescued from slavery the colored man, Solomon Northrup, author of "Twelve Years of Slavery." So great was the fear at this time that slave-owners and slave-catchers would descend upon the community that Mr. North-

rup had great difficulty in convincing the people of his identity. In fact, so obstinate were the anti-slavery people that Mr. Northrup finally took offense and declared it was mortifying to him, who had spent so many years in the cause of anti-slavery to be so considered. But he declared that Pittsburgh, at least, was on the right side of the question. What made the excitement greater was the fact that two runaway slaves had reached the city the day before the arrival of Mr. Northrup, and the fears of the community led to the conclusion that the stranger at the hotel might be a slave-catcher in pursuit of them. The *Gazette* in commenting on the matter, said: "The prompt action taken by our anti-slavery friends, shows that the mass of our citizens are sound on the slavery question, and are fully resolved that no fugitive slave shall be taken from this city without an effort to resist it." (26)

The *Post* took a different view of the occurrence and published a leading article headed "*Great Cry, and No Wool, another Nigger.*" "The select committee of the Underground Railroad appear to think they are a smart set of fellows—, but it is about time they began to profit by the old law, look before you leap. Several of the committee heard of Mr. Northrup's visit to the city, and conceived at once there was a "nigger in the wood-pile," and quickly sent word to their brethren in all parts of town that there was a negro-catcher in our midst. The excitement ran high and some of the colored preachers even went so far as to announce the news from the pulpits accompanied by the warning that if any fugitives were present they should conceal themselves. After hearing Mr. Northrup's statement they went away with a very big flea in each of their ears." (27)

The *Gazette* of July 13, 1855 announced that six fugitive slaves had a few days previous been in the city, and had then taken a train on the Ohio and Pennsylvania (now the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago) Railroad *enroute* for Canada. (28)

In July, 1855, George Ferris who had left Pittsburgh for St. Louis with a band of singers was captured by a Mr. Shaw and returned to Mr. Raglan, who claimed to be his owner. A short time after this Mr. Shaw, who turned out to be a professional slave-catcher, was arrested here while trying to kidnap Ferris' three year old child. Five informa-

tions were on file at Pittsburgh at one time against Shaw. (29)

The famous Dred Scott Case attracted great interest in Pittsburgh. Meetings were held denouncing the decision. In an editorial published in the *Gazette* on March 7, 1857, the editor commented on the decision as follows: "The Supreme Court has aimed a blow at state sovereignty, which is baser and more iniquitous than anything we had before conceived of. It is not law and it has no binding force on either the people or the government. It is not an authoritative interpretation of the constitution, nor is it legally a decision entitled to any weight whatever. The constitution was ordained to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty to the people, and it will be worth one struggle at least to prevent it from thus being turned from its high aims to subserve the lust of tyranny. The constitution was made by the people and for the people, and to the people, the sovereign power in this Confederacy, we appeal from this decision. They understand the charter of liberties, we hope, well enough to rebuke and defeat this effort to give the whole country up to the domination of the slave power." (30)

Pittsburgh was renowned both in the North and South for the care it took of fugitive slaves coming within its limits. Various devices were resorted to by the abolitionists to conceal them. There were in and about the city immense hollows and ravines with steep banks overgrown with underbrush and vines, and the surrounding hills were covered with tall trees, some of which may yet be seen in Schenley Park. Many a slave was concealed in these ravines and with meals carried to him by members of the Abolition societies, he was able to evade the watchful eye of the slave-catcher, until pursuit was abandoned. They were then driven through the city in carriages with double bottoms, under which the slave lay on his back, and to all appearances the carriage was empty, save for the driver. There were secret recesses built in houses, with the entrance so thoroughly concealed, that it required an accurate eye to discover them. Into these, the slaves were thrust in an emergency. Pittsburgh because of the strong abolition sentiment was the one place a slave-catcher feared to enter, and the fugitive felt that "as soon as he entered the city on his way towards the North Star," he was safe.

William Stewart, a prominent business man of sixty years ago has written a description of how the Underground Railroad was operated; "The bridge at Niagara Falls is the haven to which we send all hunted slaves," said Mr. Stewart. "On a Sunday morning I was just starting for church when a well known knock touched my door. I knew at once that church for me was in another direction. I opened my door leisurely, went out and turned to the right towards the east. About a block away, there was a little covered carriage that was very much in use in Pittsburgh at that time. They were called dearborns. When I left my own house there was a gentleman walking between the carriage and me. We did not speak to each other, but he turned down the first street. The curtains of the dearborn were all rolled up, and no person but the driver could be seen. It was made with a double bottom and the slave was lying flat between the upper and lower bottoms. The driver kept going on very leisurely. There was a ferry about where the Fortieth Street bridge is. We all got on the same ferry, but the driver never exchanged words with us. He was one of our wealthiest citizens and was wearing a fine pair of false whiskers. After we crossed the river the driver drove on the tow path of the canal. Finally the dearborn turned on a road running across Pine Creek below Sharpsburg. There another man came out of a house. The new man took the driver's place, while the other man took another direction, no one having spoken a word since we started. The dearborn was then driven into a lonely place in the woods, where there was a "station" provided with all manner of disguises. Provided with these the slave was started on his way to Niagara. After leaving Pittsburgh, they were scarcely ever captured." (31)

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EXCERPTS FROM OLD TIME PRIMARY SCHOOL BOOKS

Death

Youth, I am come to fetch thy breath,
And carry thee to th' shades of death,
No pity on thee can I show,
Thou hast thy God offended so.
Thy soul and body I'll divide,
Thy body in the grave I'll hide,
And thy dear soul in hell must lie
With Devils to eternity.

Thus end the days of woeful youth,
Who won't obey nor mind the truth;
Nor hearken to what preachers say,
But do their parents disobey.
They in their youth go down to hell,
Under eternal wrath to dwell.
Many don't live out half of their days,
For cleaving unto sinful ways.

"The New England Primer." Published 1777.

Against Evil Company

Why should I join them in play,
In whom I've no delight;
Who curse and swear, but never pray.
Who call ill names, and fight?

I hate to hear a wanton song;
The words offend my ears;
I should not dare defile my tongue
With language such as theirs.

My God, I hate to walk or dwell
With sinful children here;
Then let me not be sent to hell,
Where none but sinners are.

EXCERPTS FROM OLD TIME PRIMARY SCHOOL BOOKS

This is the day when Christ arose
So early from the dead;
Why should I keep my eyelids clos'd,
And waste my hours in bed?

Today with pleasure Christians meet,
To pray, and hear thy word;
And I will go with cheerful feet
To learn thy will, O Lord.

I'll leave my sport and read and pray,
And so prepare for heaven;
O may I love this blessed day,
The best of all the seven.
"The Young Ladies' and Gentlemen's Spelling Book." Published 1799.

Lessons in Verse

When the Sun doth rise you must go up each day,
And fall on your knees, and to God humbly pray:
Then kneel to your parents, their blessing implore,
And when you have money, give some to the poor.
Your hands and your face, in the next place wash fair,
And brush your apparel and comb out your hair.

Then wish a good morning to all in your view,
And bow to your parents, and bid them adieu;
Salute every person as to school you go;
When at school, to your master due reverence show.
And if you can't read, pray endeavor to spell,
For by frequently spelling you'll learn to read well.

Shun all idle boys, and the wicked and rude;
And pray, only play with those boys who are good.
To church you must every Sunday repair,
And behave yourself decently while you are there.
At the close of the day, ere you go to your rest,
Kneel again to your parents, and be again blest;
And to the Almighty again humbly pray,
That he may preserve you by night and by day.
"The Franklin Primer." Published 1802.

The Little Girl, The Sparrow, The Bee, and The Ant.

Who'll come and play with me here under the tree
My sisters have left me alone;
My sweet little Sparrow come hither to me,
And play with me while they are gone.

O no, little lady, I can't come, indeed,
I've no time to idle away;
I've got all my dear little children to feed,
And my nest to new cover with hay.

My sweet pretty Bee, do not buzz in that flower,
But come here and play with me, do;
The Sparrow won't come and stay with me an hour,
But say, pretty Bee—will not you?

O no, little lady, for do not you see,
Those must work who would prosper and thrive;
If I play they would call me a sad idle Bee,
And perhaps turn me out of the hive.

Stop! Stop! little Ant, do not run off so fast.
Wait with me a little and play;
I hope I shall find a companion at last,
You are not so busy as they.

O no, little lady, I can't stay with you,
We're not made to play but to labour;
I always have something or other to do,
If not for myself, for a neighbour.

What then, have they all some employment but me,
Who lie lounging here like a dunce?
O then, like the Ant, the Sparrow, and Bee,
I'll go to my lesson at once.

"The United States Spelling Book." Published 1818.

Little Charles

Well, Charles is highly pleased today,
I gave him leave to go and play
Upon the green, with bat and ball;
And when he heard his playmates call,
Away he sprang across the plain,
To join the little merry train,
But here he comes—why, what means this?
I wonder what has gone amiss,—
Why, Charles, how came you back so soon?
I gave you leave to stay till noon.

I know it, sir, and I intended
To play till every game was ended;
But, to say truth, I could not bear
To hear those little fellows swear—
They cursed so bold and fearlessly
That the cold chills ran over me—
For I was seized with awful dread
That some of them would drop down dead—
And so I turned and came away,
For, Pa, I was afraid to stay!

"The Fourth Class Book." Published 1827.

Lesson

The bad man who is in the way of sin, will go to the pit;
and so will the bad boy too.
But the good boy who does no ill, will go to joy;
for joy is to be the lot of all who do well.

"The Ohio Primer." Published 1829.

REMINISCENCES OF JANE GREY SWISSHELM

By

REV. S. J. FISHER, D. D.*

One pleasant Sabbath morning in the late "seventies," or early "eighties" of the last century, the congregation of the Swissvale Presbyterian Church were gathering, as usual, for worship. The last sounds of the sweet-toned church bell were dying across the lawns and gardens and groves of the attractive suburb, and being succeeded by the notes of the organ prelude, when the youthful pastor noticed a stranger walking up the side aisle, unattended, yet apparently indifferent to the eyes or attentions of others. Entering a pew, and seating herself next to the aisle, she responded with a gentle nod to the friendly smile of the prominent lawyer who sat in the adjoining pew, and then removing her very plain bonnet, placed it on the floor of the aisle, and with an air of absorption, awaited the opening hymn. Her dress was exceedingly plain, and her whole appearance was that of one to whom fashion or the desire of personal adornment made no appeal.

She was then, probably, about 65 years of age, and her dark hair touched with gray, her face somewhat lined with years of an active life, and her slight yet vigorous form, were attractive or unusual only because of an indescribable air of self satisfaction. She was an attentive worshiper, and, whatever her comparative judgment of sermon or music, was refined in manner and unobstrusive in attitude. At the close of the service it was evident that she was no stranger to many of the congregation, for she was soon greeted by friends and acquaintances, as one returning to her old home. It was at this time that the young pastor was introduced to Mrs. Jane Grey Swisshelm, of whom he had heard, and at whose suggestion the name of the suburb was created. She was pleasant in manner and appreciative of her friendly neighbors, to whom she owed many acts of kindness. She was whimsical in speech, alert, gifted with humor, and easily sarcastic. She was at this time nearing

*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on March 29, 1921.

the end of a very peculiar life, an experience greatly varied both in her personal and domestic relations, and the newspaper activities and reforms. Rather thin or spare in figure, she gave one the impression of a bird by her alert and changeful movements. She was sojourning in the old log cabin which had been her husband's home, and now had become her own property, and here she was preparing her autobiography under the title "Half A Century." With some corrections I shall rely upon this volume for the data and facts concerning her varied life.

At this point let me say that few persons are qualified to write an autobiography. There is at times a lack of perspective, and, in some natures an unwillingness to recognize defaults or mistakes, which destroys accuracy. Then, too, there may be the tendency to let distance lend enchantment, and trust to the partial memories of loving friends for flattering reminiscences of childhood. In this respect Mrs. Swisshelm was apt to be credulous, and the story of her life is clothed with a glamour which her hardships probably led her to enjoy. She was born in 1815 on Water Street, Pittsburgh, and it is to be remembered that at that date this city had less than 5,000 inhabitants.

An enthusiastic reporter claimed, at the time of her death, that she was a lineal descendant of Lady Jane Grey, but his historic knowledge was not sufficient to inform him, that Lady Jane Grey was married in May, was arrested by Queen Mary and sent to the Tower in November, and was executed, in February, never having known the responsibilities of motherhood. Mrs. Swisshelm speaks of her family as Scotch in descent, and connected with royalty through the Grey family. It is more than probable that here romance attracted her, though the Grey family is an extensive one, and such feudal relations are numerous; and we have heard that while Charles the Second left no legitimate children, he might be called in a special sense the father of his people.

Mrs. Swisshelm emphasizes her relations to the Covenanters, and her thorough doctrinal training under the ministry of the Rev. Dr. Black of the Covenanter Church in this city. Her childhood was spent in this city and Wilkinsburg, to which place the family removed, returning to a house on Sixth Avenue, opposite Trinity Church, whose grounds she remembered as enclosed with a board fence. While quite

young she was sent to a girl's boarding school near Braddock, a training she enjoyed for about a year.

In her story we gain an interesting glimpse of the scenes which were to be associated with her early married life, and which recall for some of us the changes wrought in later years. She describes her journey from Pittsburgh to Braddock by wagon, turning from the road, the old Greensburg Pike, now Penn Avenue, at the old Yellow Tavern, which in its ruins some of us recall, and following the rough road now named Braddock Avenue, rode on in the dark night, descending into what we know as Nine Mile Run, and while crossing the depths of the dark ravine, was endangered by the overflowing stream. Harm might have followed if she had not been rescued by a powerful youth, who carried her in his arms to his log house home at the roadside. Subsequently he became her husband, the log house the scene of the trials of her early married life, and eventually the resting place for her last years.

Let us remember that at this time, about 1827 this deep ravine as it ran back from the Monongahela River became Y-like in shape, one branch running northwest to Wilkinsburg, and the other northeast to what is now Edgewood, and, as yet, open and unobstructed by the huge fills made necessary, when a quarter century later the Pennsylvania Railroad was completed.

Mrs. Swisshelm is not quite correct concerning the age of the log house and the adjoining mill. The date of the house was probably about 1813, while the stone barn opposite carried in its gable end a stone with date, 1814, cut in it. Near it was a mill which, despite Mrs. Swisshelm's belief that to it the Indians came for flour, is of later date than such customers could need.

After a childhood in which she finds herself, as an infant, unusually gifted, and a varied schooling, she was married at the age of 21 to James Swisshelm. At the very beginning she seems disillusionized. She finds this large framed, black bearded and gigantic bridegroom entirely dependent upon, and submissive to his mother, whose religious affiliations prejudiced her against the little bride, and whose control of the property produced an irritation and unhappiness which never wholly ceased. Mrs. Swisshelm's tendency to over emphasize all she was or possessed, leads her at times to describe her husband as remarkable in appear-

ance, and possessed of masculine beauty and grace, though she realized, that for much of her unhappiness he was measurably responsible. But those who knew all the circumstances judged, that the marriage was truly an unequal yoking, that physically, mentally, aesthetically, and to a degree religiously they were antipodal. You read between the lines her realization that he was unfitted for such a wife, and lacking in all the requirements to be a true companion or consort.

The conditions of married life, so lacking in comfort and satisfaction, made her restless, and drove her out of her ordinary circumstances. She says of herself that in her early days she was diffident and unreliant, and fearful of publicity. But she was to pass through such experiences that publicity became a delight, public debate a joy, and fierce verbal debate like the trumpet to the war horse. Her early training in the Covenanter Church had given her a horror of slavery, as a theory. A sojourn in Louisville, Kentucky, where her husband took her in a vain attempt at a new method of livelihood, intensified her anti-slavery zeal. She had begun to write letters in the newspapers, and slavery became her theme.

Let us remember that at this time, 1840, the population of Pittsburgh was only 21,115, and a bright and energetic writer soon attracted attention in this region. This letter-writing, which at first was over an assumed name, furnished an outlet for her literary tastes, and gave variety to an otherwise limited and almost sordid life. It is pathetic to note how she craved contact with the aesthetic and artistic phases of living. It is not too much to say that during most of the period preceding the midcentury, this region was very crude and narrow in many ways. Reflect that until 1852 there was no Pennsylvania Railroad; that in 1860 there were less people in Pittsburgh than there are today in McKeesport, and that while the larger element of the city's population were moral, energetic and reliable, it was a population in which the higher culture was not greatly realized, and an atmosphere in which art did not spontaneously flourish. Mrs. Swisshelm tells of meeting a painter and obtaining from him some materials, and thus inspired setting to work upon her own task, and reveling in the new realm of art. Despite her satisfaction with her skill, it does not seem unkind to say, that her genius was not marked, but her enjoy-

ment of this outlet for thought and aspiration is very evident. Her home life was lacking in almost everything that such an active mind and spirited nature craved. Her husband and relatives were unsympathetic, and even the ordinary conditions of the household were unsatisfying to such an eager nature and widening vision.

Upon returning from the sojourn at Louisville, where her husband's business difficulties drove her to dressmaking and other tasks for a livelihood, all that this husband possessed of material resources were represented by a panther, two bears, and a deer, which this strange couple harbored in and around the log house. Was there ever a stranger or more amazing fancy, a more astonishing revelation of character in mature people, than this pleasure in a miniature menagerie, which consumed pigs and poultry, and terrorized the little settlement? Just across the road from the site of the log house, still may be seen a cave in the hillside, at the end of the former Edgewood Golf grounds, in which, tradition says, this panther or the bears were confined. Here where the road to Braddock passes, lived this strange household, elements almost as diverse as the fiery panther, the somnolent bears and the timid deer.

The anonymous newspaper work was giving her an unrecognized training for the part she was to assume in the anti-slavery conflict. As yet she discussed the legal disabilities of women, the denial of property rights to her sex, and became a champion for remedial legislation. Her own experience gave point to her criticisms and appeals. To the end of her married life, and even beyond, she was oppressed by her husband's assertion of his property control and mastery of her physical conditions. He never ceased to assert with an unconscious harshness his ownership and mastery, even while she was contributing to household support by her own inherited income, and the compensation derived from her newspaper work. Ultimately he became the owner of a considerable tract of land, but he was far from generous or considerate.

Yet, while contending for better legislation, and those better judicial decisions for the relief of her sex, it is interesting to note that she was but little concerned with schemes of so called women's rights. She was never an ardent suffragist. She looked with mild interest upon the efforts of Miss Anthony, Lucy Stone and that line of reformers, who today

gaze with triumph upon those changes which they regard as so promising. It is to be said of her that she was never dissatisfied with her sex, and never blamed the Creator for her feminism, nor lost her admiration for the true and worthy exponent of manhood, or regarded man as her enemy. She ridiculed the idea that difference of sex was a matter of education. She smiled pityingly upon the bloomerites, even while she was attacking unfair legislation. It seemed to be her opinion, and, I think that opinion was justified by her experience, that while reforms were necessary, true argument and appeals and publicity would accomplish them, and were more to be relied upon, than votes or political threats.

She had already begun to write over her own name when the Mexican war began. She regarded this invasion as entirely unjustified, and unpatriotic, and she therefore wrote against it, with her natural vigor and the conviction of righteousness. She had begun the publication of a weekly journal called the *Visiter*, which she spelled with an "e." As time passed she wrote with a greater vehemence on the subject of slavery. This was to her, as it was to John Wesley, "the sum of all wickedness," and whenever "she mused the fire burned." She wielded a very caustic and pointed pen. She was intensely personal. Her wit was mordant, her invective biting, her ridicule unlimited. Judges, ministers, lawyers, editors and others were assailed without reserve or disguise. The pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church, and his brother, also Judge Grier and others were pilloried by her sarcasm, and assailed by her argument.

It is interesting to observe how her sex seemed to protect her. If she had been a man she might have shared the fate of Sumner in the Senate and Lovejoy in the West, for violence would have been the resource of her enemies. Even when she went to Minnesota, and in that region of an incomplete civilization began her attacks upon the advocates of slavery, while she suffered the loss of her printing press, she was rarely in danger of her life.

In 1857 she felt compelled to leave her husband, and with her infant child journey to the Northwest. It was while she was thus absent that she received the tidings of his securing a divorce, and she remarks in a spirit of retrospection, that if her husband had been willing in their earlier married life to have gone with her to the West, or to some

place where they could have established a home untroubled by his relatives, much of their differences and sorrow might never have been known.

In the Northwest she entered on a new experience, that of addressing public meetings. She regards this as remarkable, for she tells of her early timidity and weakness in public. But here the very qualities of her newspaper work came into play. Her sense of right, her sarcasm, her power of ridicule, her personalities attracted the crowd, encouraged her associates, and discomfited her enemies. Here again her weakness was her strength. Her womanhood was her defence. Until a mob is overwhelmingly passionate it respects womanhood. And it is to be considered whether the advocates of the new regime of women's rights, and equality with men, realize that they may lose a large influence, and special weapons, if they discard the fact of sex, and despise the law of compensation.

Going to Washington in 1850, Mrs. Swisshelm became a contributor to the *New York Tribune*, receiving five dollars for every letter. Rightly or wrongly she regarded herself as wielding a great influence, and assumed a marked prominence. Newspaper notoriety is very appealing. The love of public notice is for many very strong. Many are susceptible to the desire for some kind of publicity, as the photographs of so many in our daily press, without the slightest excuse, make us wonder what kind of home life is prevalent, and what ideas of refinement and privacy are taught. This delight in publicity grows by what it feeds on. It came to Mrs. Swisshelm, and it is ever apparent in her autobiography.

It was her boast that by her statements in a letter to the *Tribune* concerning the private life of Daniel Webster she defeated his attempt to reach the Presidency. She found pleasure in the statement of a friend, that she was another Jael, the destroyer of another leader. This is, of course, no place for controversy; but as we desire to be accurate, we may well ask what candidate for the Presidency was ever set aside for personal immorality? History, in explanation of Webster's failure and blighted ambition, lays greater and plainer stress upon his decline from anti-slavery principles and his bargaining with Southern leaders for place and power. This decadence and change were more in the

minds of the public than private peccadilloes. As was natural, Mrs. Swisshelm's self-confidence grew with her publicity. She seems never to have been conscious of a mistake. Lincoln was regarded by her as unworthy, and commercializing the War, when he recalled the proclamation of emancipation issued by one of his generals, and postponed emancipation to a later day. She had no confidence in Grant's patriotism or sincerity. As the war went on she entered the hospitals and camps as a nurse. Here again her self-confidence never fails. With repeated stories of what she accomplished she criticizes surgeons, generals, administration, nurses, and makes biting personal comment on the leader, Miss Dorothy Dix. She was undoubtedly useful and kindly, but her very virtues must have been trying .

Meanwhile her child was approaching womanhood. The war was over. The position she held as a clerk in Washington was lost. Ere long she planned a musical career for her daughter. For her she craved prominence, and the public eye, and so she took her to the master-teachers of the piano abroad, and sought the training which would qualify her child for a professional career. The life in Europe gave a new bent to her mind.

I doubt if she ever had much interest in the temperance reform. But consorting with Germans and French persuaded her, that total abstinence was unwise, and the use of beer and light wines desirable. She never was a student or investigator. And thus on her return she began to write letters assailing the reform, and employing some of her old vigor of language. She had many readers, even of those who disagreed with her. Then, too, she loved to discharge her invectives at St. Paul, and assail his comments upon the actions of women. In her wandering life something of her reverence for the Bible, and confidence in Christian principles had been dimmed. But it was never totally lost. When she found Episcopalians in their conventions, and Presbyterians like Van Dyke, Plummer and Palmer, and Methodists justifying slavery, and in some cases asserting its divine authority, her orthodoxy was shaken and, as she says, she had sympathy with unbelievers who were abolitionists. She did not realize the large number of Christians who were seeking her ends, quietly undermining the slave power, and seeking a true overthrow of the iniquity.

At last her active work seemed ended, and she returned

to the community where her early womanhood had been spent. There she found true and reliable friends, sympathetic acquaintances, those who had known her for years and been loyal in all her days of trial. There, among the cultured and kindhearted, she found those whose sympathy was increased by the sense of the humorous, friends who, knowing all, were able to appreciate her really fine qualities, and also enjoy her eccentricities, and smile at her kindly wit. Thus, ere the long day closed, she found friendships which never varied or ceased, and a welcome to the most delightful homes. It was a happy condition that she could thus spend her last years in a great satisfaction. We felt that she was privileged to review her life and find much to please and read. She could see our land free from a great curse, and feel that in that victory she had a part. She had done something to remove from the life of her sex unwise and oppressive legal limitations, and, like Luther in the Castle of Wartburg, she had by her ink bottle exercised the devil of injustice and cruelty.

She dwelt in the old house, which had come to be her own property, despite her husband's claims, and from her porch she could see that husband's newer home on the crest of the hill above the shadowed vale. Sometimes she passed the weeks of summer in a cottage in the Alleghanies, for she loved the forests. One afternoon three of us took a friend, who had expressed a desire to meet our famous neighbor, to her log house home. It was not many months before Mrs. Swisshelm's death, and when we entered we found her practically alone, reclining upon an old couch in the large living room with its rude old-fashioned fireplace. The house was distressingly bare. There was little furniture, and this most plain. We were cordially welcomed, and in a quaint and interesting way were entertained by her talk. Her varied life and contact with the world, her worthy purposes and aims in life, had given her a real culture, and attractiveness of manner. Though years were burdening her, she retained the old gentleness and quietness, for it was only in her letters that she was robust or assertive. When she noticed our eyes directed to a large black canvas, without a frame, which rested against the stone chimney, she explained with a shrewd smile, that some time before, while roaming in the Alleghany forest, she had found a very large fungis, which was so round and beautiful, that she felt she could almost fall down and worship. So great was its charm

to her, that seizing her paints she had transferred its likeness to this canvas to preserve its memory and grace. I am sure she did not resent our smiles, for while the painting was far from a work of art, or a satisfying reproduction of nature, the enthusiasm of the artist, the joy in the forest glades, and the whimsical pleasure in the memory were delightful to us all. Thus she spent in quietness her remaining years. Her daughter, preferring a home with her husband and children to all the presumed attractions of a public career, had given some disappointment to the mother's plans, but the daughter's happiness was her solace.

It was a strange running of the full circle, that the very house and room, to which she had been carried as a girl of twelve in the stormy night by the muscular youth who became her husband, was her last earthly home, and the place from which she was borne to her grave. Despite all her changes, I like to believe she obeyed at eve the voice obeyed at prime.

The number of those who either personally or by family tradition are familiar with the great anti-slavery conflict is fast decreasing. It will soon be for many a spent fact of history, as remote in interest as the Whisky Rebellion in our country, or the Corn law troubles of England. To me personally this tremendous controversy has an especial interest, because my father in his intimacy with Salmon P. Chase, Prof. O. McK. Mitchell, Harriet Beecher Stowe and others at Cincinnati, was a patron of the Underground Railroad stretching from the Ohio to Canada. He was a participant in the decision of the New School Presbyterian Church to seek the abolition of slavery, which led to the division of that Church.

There is no usefulness in merely reviving a dead controversy, or preserving old bitternesses. But it is well for us to be so familiar with our history that we can recognize and admire those ardent and highminded men and women, who could not be at ease in Zion, and strove even through sacrifice and possible martyrdom to destroy slavery, and make the principles of the Declaration of Independence something more than "glittering generalities."

In that struggle Mrs. Swisshelm was a prominent and wholehearted participant, and her aims should be admired, and her name treasured by us who dwell in a land no longer "half slave and half free," and where we can truthfully sing of the land of the free, as well as the home of the brave.

THE PITTSBURGH BLUES

By

CAPTAIN JOHN H. NIEBAUM

(Continued from the April, 1921 number)

PART II

THE STORY OF FORT MEIGS

General W. H. Harrison had set out early in 1813 to recover Michigan, which had been surrendered to the British by General Hull. General Winchester, with 800 volunteers, was sent to Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, 25 miles south of Detroit. He sent a detachment to engage the British and Indians. The British colonel, later general, Henry Proctor, advanced rapidly to Frenchtown with 1500 British and Indians, and surprised and defeated the Americans on January 22, 1813. General Winchester was captured, and fearing a general massacre ordered his successor, Colonel Madison, to surrender, under pledge of protection from the Indians. Colonel Proctor, under the pretext of fearing the advance of General Harrison, left Malden. The Indians attacked the wounded prisoners left behind, torturing and massacreing them. The army of General Harrison, which included the Pennsylvania soldiers under command of Brigadier General Crooks, was marched northward to the Maumee River, during the month of January, 1813, where Fort Meigs was erected, the location being about eight miles out from the present city of Toledo.

Brevet Lieut.-Colonel Eleazer D. Wood, captain of the corps of engineers, of the United States Army, and in honor of whom Wood county, Ohio, was named, was with Gen. Harrison at Fort Meigs as constructing engineer. He continued with Harrison into Canada, and was finally killed at Erie. He has left a most interesting journal of the scenes and incidents in which he participated in the Northwestern campaign of 1812-1818. The student of history is much indebted to Brevet Major General George W. Cullum, colonel of the corps of engineers, for rescuing from oblivion and giving to the world the journal of this brave officer, from which

the following synopsis cannot fail to prove of interest:

Major General William H. Harrison, having been appointed to the command of the Northwestern army, arrived at Upper Sandusky early in January, 1813, with two brigades of militia, together with a few regulars and volunteers, in all about 1500 men. This force of raw troops was to be licked into shape and discipline. It was also necessary to await the arrival of the field battering train of artillery, the latter consisting of five 18-pounders, together with provisions, forage and ordnance stores. He remained at the portage from the 24th of January to the 1st of February, when the artillery and reinforcements having arrived the army returned to the Maumee.

There General Harrison, with his command, encamped on a beautiful ridge near the foot of the Rapids, on the right bank of the river and about 150 yards distant from it. The camp was situated about two miles above Fort Miami, and about three miles below the site on which General Wayne gave the Indians such a bitter drubbing in 1794. It was a wise choice made by General Harrison and Captains Gratiot and Wood of the engineers. Here lay the army with its rear to the river, covered by the considerable ravine in front, which extended around and communicated with another very deep and wide one, which passed the left and entirely secured it.

Here General Harrison directed that a camp for 2,000 men should be laid out and strongly fortified with block houses, batteries and palisades, in such manner as to withstand the test of British artillery. This work was continued in a state of progression, the lines of construction were at once designated, and a large portion of labor assigned among every corps or regiment in the army. Each brigade or regiment commenced that particular portion of work assigned it with patriotic vigor and spirit. A fine train of artillery, consisting of five 18-pounders, six 12-pounders, six 6-pounders and three howitzers, together with a small supply of ammunition, having arrived in camp, the little army brightened in appearance and began to feel encouraged.

The camp was about 2500 yards in circumference, which, with the exception of several small intervals, left for the block houses and batteries, was every foot picketed with timber, 15 feet long from ten to twelve inches in diameter,

and set three feet in the ground. To complete this picketing, to put up eight block houses of double timber, to elevate four large batteries, to build all the store houses and magazines required for the supplies of the army, together with the ordinary duties and fatigues of the camp, was an undertaking of no small magnitude. Aside from all this, an immense deal of labor was performed in excavating ditches, making abatis and clearing away the wood about the camp; and all this was done, too, when the weather was intensely cold, and the ground frozen so hard that it required the most strenuous labor to open it with spade and pick-axe.

It seemed that the use of axe, mattock and spade, comprised all the military knowledge of the army. The men continued to work and bury themselves as rapidly as possible, and still heard nothing of the expected army. At this time the army enjoyed a fair degree of health, and was well provided with food.

Toward the latter end of March it was learned through a trustworthy source that the British general, Proctor, had issued a proclamation directing his militia to assemble at Sandwich on the 7th of April, for the purpose of aiding in an expedition against Camp Meigs. It was further learned that the principal plan of attack was as follows: On arriving before the camp the Indians were to be immediately thrown in our rear, or rather they were to invest the camp, and cut off at once all communication, while the troops were to be employed on the opposite side of the river in preparing the batteries and mounting the guns in order to cannonade and bombard the camp; and that in a very few hours after the batteries were opened upon the Americans they would be compelled to seek safety by flying to the swamps, when the Indians would accomplish the rest of the engagement.

It was now the 1st of April, when all were convinced that in a very few days a visit might be expected from General Proctor, accompanied by the great Tecumseh and their retinue. On the 8th Lieut-Colonel Ball, with about 200 dragoons, arrived at the Rapids, and in fine time to afford the assistance, very much wanted, in the completion of the works. Soon afterwards General Harrison arrived with a small corps of regulars and militia. The whole number of troops in camp at this time was about 1200 or 1300, of which not more than 850 were reported fit for duty. They were better than half regulars and volunteers, and the

rest Kentucky and Ohio militia, who had just been drafted into service, and of course were quite ignorant of their duties.

Our block-houses, batteries, magazines and connecting lines of defense were now generally completed, and the appearance of the camp in its every feature was such as to inspire confidence in those who were to defend it against the assault of the invaders of our country. Fuel for the garrison and timber to repair breaches and to make bombproofs, should it be found necessary, were brought into camp in great abundance. Also, two or three wells were instantly commenced—in fact everything was done that possibly could be thought of to place the camp in the best situation to sustain a long siege.

On the 25th the combined British and Indian forces, consisting of 800 militia, 500 regulars and 1500 Indians, all under command of General Proctor, arrived at the mouth and landed on the left shore of the Maumee, and instantly a party of Indians was thrown across the river to observe and watch the conduct of our troops, should any of them be sent out to reconnoitre, as was the constant practice.

The following day Proctor's army was put in motion, keeping its left to the river, and arriving with the gun boats and batteries, in which were the artillery and ordnance stores, and advanced until it arrived on the 27th at old Fort Miami. The batteaux were at once unloaded and employed in conveying the balance of the Indians to our side of the river. The following night the enemy broke ground in four different places, and were very industriously employed until morning, when their works showed good progress. When these nocturnal works were discovered such of our guns as could be brought to bear opened upon them, and those works of the night were completely destroyed.

Understanding now the enemy's plan of attack, and where each of his batteries were to be located, and the particular object of each, and knowing that we should be greatly annoyed by his artillery in our present state, it became necessary to intrench the army entirely anew, which was done within the original lines of camp. Captain Wood commenced the new intrenchments on the morning of the 28th, when the whole army was set to work and continued in the trenches until tattoo, when their labors were suspended, and work in the trenches was resumed at break of

day with unflagging zeal. Never did men behave better on any similar occasion than did ours on this.

Unfortunately we had not been able to clear the wood away to a sufficient distance on our left, of which circumstance the Indians very readily availed themselves, and from the tops of the trees poured into our camps prodigious showers of musketry. The distance, however, was so great, that out of the numerous quantity of balls poured in, comparatively few took effect. A number of our men were wounded, notwithstanding, and rendered incapable of duty for some time.

After the first day's labor in the trenches, one-third of the troops only were kept in them constantly, who were relieved every three hours by fresh ones. In this way we continued our operations, while General Harrison, extremely active, was everywhere to be seen in the trenches, urging on the work, as well by example as precept. He slept but little, and was uncommonly vigilant and watchful through the night.

The first work commenced to shield the troops against cannon was a traverse of about 20 feet base, laid parallel with the river, on the most elevated ground, which was near the middle and running the whole length of the camp. It was from 10 to 15 feet high, and was completed early on the morning of the 1st of May, just as it was discovered that the enemy had finished three of his principal batteries, had his guns in, and was loading and bringing them to bear. Orders were now given for all our tents in front to be instantly struck and carried to the rear of the traverse. It was done in almost a moment, and the prospect of beating up our quarters, which but an instant before presented itself to the view of the eager artilleries, had now entirely fled, and in its place suddenly appeared an immense shield of earth, obscuring from the sight of the enemy every tent, every horse, of which there were 200, and every creature belonging to the camp.

At 11 o'clock A. M. the British batteries opened, and a most tremendous cannonading and bombardment was commenced and kept up, the former until dark and the latter until 11 o'clock at night, when all was again silent. Our loss was one or two men killed, and five or six wounded —the latter principally by the Indians. Our ammunition

being inadequate to the necessity of a long siege, we fired very little, contenting ourselves in safety and listening to the music furnished by the enemy.

On the 2nd at dawn the cannonade commenced again with great vigor, and the batteries continued to play with much briskness through the day, and with about the same effect as on the preceding day.

At 10 o'clock A. M. on the 3rd it was discovered that the enemy had crossed the river, and had three or four of his cannon on our left stuck on the edge of a small ravine. In the course of the third day we had two or three dragoons killed, several slightly wounded and a number of horses killed.

On the 4th, the enemy neither opened his batteries so early in the morning as he had been accustomed to, nor did he fire them with his usual vigor and activity. Firing almost ceased toward evening. It appeared as though the enemy was convinced that the attack from that side of the river was simply an immense waste of powder and ball and would ultimately prove of no avail.

The Indians were permitted by General Proctor to assemble upon the surrounding rampart, and there at their leisure amuse themselves by firing at the prisoners until at length they preferred slaughtering their wretched victims in a manner more suitable to their savage hatred. They laid aside their rifles, went into the slaughter pen, seized those they pleased, and leading them to the gateway tomahawked and scalped them without mercy and without restraint. Nine bodies were found lying in one pile near the gate at the Fort after General Proctor left the Maumee. Many were found in other places tomahawked and scalped, and their bodies mangled in the most inhuman and barbarous manner.

During the siege General Proctor had the audacity to summon General Harrison to surrender, and was very properly told that if he ever got possession of Fort Meigs it would be under such circumstances that would give him greater claims upon the gratitude of his country than he possibly could have by the Fort being surrendered—or words to that effect.

General Proctor without troubling us further, on the morning of the 9th, raised the siege and left for Malden.

The prisoners he had taken were carried down the Huron and there landed.

Having many sick and wounded after the close of the siege of many days and our force greatly impaired, such measures were taken as might tend to restore the army to health and vigor. The block-houses about the lines were cleared of guns and stores and converted into temporary hospitals. Tents were pitched with arbors about them, and such arrangements made to alleviate distress as the circumstances would admit. For some time, as might be expected, the camp exhibited a melancholy spectacle. But the brave men bore up most patiently under their anxiety and gloom with the consciousness of having faithfully done their duty.

Gen. Harrison said in his official report on the Fort Meig's fight:

"The Pittsburgh Blues, led by Lieutenant Magee, in the illness of their gallant captain, sustained the reputation which they had acquired at Mississineway. That American regulars (although they were raw recruits) and such men as composed the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Petersburg, Virginia volunteers should behave well is not to be wondered at; but that a company of militia should maintain its ground against four times its numbers, as did Captain Sebres, of Kentucky, is truly astonishing."

The Pittsburgh Blues lost at Fort Meigs in killed: Newman, Richardson and McKee. The wounded were Williams, Dobbins, Willock, Walmendorf, Boss and Park. Jos. Dodd, who was wounded at Mississineway, died at Ft. Meigs, June 16, 1813.

Mr. G. P. Wilkinson, in letter dated Pittsburgh, August 13, 1846, says: "I will mention an incident, trivial in itself, but as it tends to show the character of an esteemed friend, and an excellent soldier, I will relate it.

"I had been in attendance on the sickbed of our captain, Butler, in one of the block-houses of Fort Meigs during the investment of that post, in the spring of 1813, and becoming hungry, started out (boy like) to endeavor to obtain some breakfast. Seeing Sergeant Troville cooking some coffee over a few coals I told him my errand and he told me to wait a few minutes and he would divide his cup of coffee with me. I took a seat, and a moment or two afterwards I heard a peculiar singing of an Indian rifle ball that had

entered the ground a short distance from where we were sitting.

"Hurrah,' says I; 'Sergeant, what does this mean?"

"He pointed to a tree at a considerable distance from the pickets, where I observed an Indian perched on one of the branches. He then said with great good humor:

"That rascal, George, has been firing at me ever since I commenced cooking my breakfast.'

"I swallowed my tin-cup of coffee pretty expeditiously, during which, however, he fired once or twice more, and I told Trovillo I was not going to remain as a target for the yellow skins."

A letter from Jesse Lewis, one of the Pittsburgh Blues, under date of May 9, says: "In the sortie from the Fort by the Americans the Pittsburgh Blues acted with the courage of veterans, and were in the hottest part of the action."

In his dispatch of May 9, 1813, to the War Department, announcing abandonment by the enemy of the siege of Ft. Meigs, and awarding praise for gallant service, General Harrison says:

"The Pittsburgh Blues, led by Lieut. Magee, sustained the reputation which they had acquired at Mississineway, and their gallant associates, the Petersburg, Va. volunteers, and Lt. Drum's Greensburg Rifles, discovered equal intrepedity."

Later, on May 13, 1813, writing from Lower Sandusky, Gen. Harrison says:

"Having ascertained that the enemy (Indians as well as British) had entirely abandoned the neighborhood of the Rapids, I left the command of Camp Meigs with General Clay and came here last night. Two persons employed on British gunboats, (Americans by birth), deserted to us. The information they gave me was very interesting. They say that the Indians, of which there were 1600 to 2000, left the British the day before their departure in a high state of dissatisfaction, from the great loss which they sustained on the 5th, and the failure of the British promise to take the post. From the account given by these men, my opinion is confirmed of the great superiority of the enemy which were defeated by our troops in the two sallies made on the 5th inst.

"That led by Col. Miller did not exceed 350 men, and it is very certain that they defeated 200 regular British, 150

militia and 400 or 500 Indians. That American regulars, (although they were raw recruits) and such men as compose the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and Petersburg, Virginia volunteers, should behave well, is not to be wondered at. I am unable to form a correct estimate of the enemy's force. The prisoners vary much in their accounts. Those who made them least stated the regulars at 550, militia 800, Indians 1000 to 1200."

The Americans lost in all, killed 77, wounded 187, total, 264. Nine only were killed within the fort.

The Pennsylvania militia (about 1700 strong) with General Harrison, having been mustered in for six months, were many of them discharged in April, 1813, their time having expired, though they served fifteen days longer rather than leave the army weak before a strong and vigilant enemy, previous to the arrival of expected and overdue reinforcements from this state. These returned soldiers were warmly welcomed at Pittsburgh on their arrival in May. About 200 of them had re-enlisted in the Northwest, and there continued to serve. The Blues having enlisted for one year, remained with Harrison. They were destined still further to distinguish themselves.

On the 20th of July, at the solicitation of Tecumseh, General Proctor returned with a larger force, while General Harrison was at Lower Sandusky. It was to be attempted, according to Tecumseh's plan, to draw the garrison from the fort by a ruse, as it had proved too strong and well-equipped to be taken by assault. The force of the enemy that had ascended the Maumee under command of General Proctor and Tecumseh was 5000 men, while the number of Indians was greater than ever before assembled on any occasion during the war, while the defenders of Fort Meigs amounted to only a few hundred men under command of General Green Clay.

In the afternoon of the same day the British infantry were secreted in the ravine below the fort, and the cavalry in the woods above, while the Indians were stationed in the forest, on the Sandusky road, not far from the fort. About an hour before dark they began a sham battle among themselves, to deceive the Americans into the belief that a battle was going on between them and reinforcements for the fort, in the hope of enticing the garrison to the aid of their comrades. It was managed with so much skill that the garri-

son instantly flew to arms, impressed by the Indian yells, intermingled with the roar of musketry, that a severe battle was being fought and that the lives of the reinforcements were in danger. Some of the officers insisted on being suffered to march out to the rescue. General Clay satisfied the officers that no troops were to be sent out of Fort Meigs until there would be further necessity for it. But the men were highly indignant that they were prevented from going out to share the dangers, as they believed, of their commander-in-chief and their brother soldiers. A shower of rain ended this sham battle. The enemy remained around the fort but one day after this, when on the 28th they embarked with their stores and proceeded down the lake, and on to Fort Stephenson, where they met with such a terrible repulse. That fort was defended by one gun and 160 young men commanded by Major George Croghan.

The information was given out by a volunteer aid of General Clay, who was in Fort Meigs during the second siege, that preparations were made by General Clay to fire the magazine in case the enemy succeeded in the attempt to storm the fort, and thus involve all, friends and foe alike in one common fate. This terrible alternative was deemed far preferable to that of suffering the barbarities of their relentless foes, and finally to perish under the tomahawks and scalping knives of fiendish savages.

In 1815 the government removed the ordnance and stores and abandoned Fort Meigs.

On August 2, 1813, the British and Indians, under General Proctor and Colonel Elliott, attempted to storm Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, then commanded by Major George Croghan, twenty-one years of age, a nephew of General George Rogers Clarke. Major Croghan believed that when the British should attempt to storm the fort the attack would be through an available ditch. He ordered Sergeant Weaver of the Virginia volunteers, and six privates of the Pittsburgh Blues, to cover this point. Major Croghan had but one cannon in the fort, a six pounder, which was given in charge of Sergeant Weaver and his six men to handle.

When, late in the evening, the British storming column attacked the fort, Sergeant Weaver and his six Pittsburghers opened the masked port-hole, at which they stood around their six-pounder, and the piece was discharged at the assailants, then only thirty feet distant. Death and desola-

tion filled the ditch, into which the attacking force had leaped in their charge. Fifty men were instantly killed and wounded, and the attacking column fled in dismay; nor did they renew the attack; and at three oclock that night Proctor and his men retreated. General Proctor, fearing the approach of General Harrison, gave up the siege and withdrew. The British lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and twenty men, while only one man of the garrison was killed and several wounded.

The brilliant exploit of Major Croghan won for him a handsome sword from the ladies of Chillicothe, Ohio, while Congress voted him the thanks of the nation. A score of years later he was awarded a gold medal for his skill and bravery. A detail of the Pittsburgh Blues were a portion of the force with which Major Croghan has so valiantly defended Fort Stephenson, now Fremont, Ohio.

When Proctor had ordered Croghan to surrender, he accompanied the demand with the like threat he had used before, namely, that if Croghan refused he and his men would be massacred by his Indian allies.

Croghan spiritedly replied that such contingency was impossible, since should the fort surrender there would not be left any men to massacre.

Report of Maj. George Croghan: Fort Sandusky, Aug. 5, 1813. "The enemy attacked Fort Stephenson with a combined force of 500 regulars, and 700 or 800 Indians, under command of Gen. Proctor, who sent Col. Elliott and Maj. Chambers with a flag to demand surrender of the fort to save effusion of blood or they would reduce the fort by storm. Croghan refused to surrender. Fire was opened from the gunboats in the river and from a 5½ howitzer and 5-sixes on shore and from 3-sixes. Three hundred and fifty men advanced in the ditch and a fire of grape from a 6-pounder followed, together with musketry. Croghans loss was one killed, seven wounded. Enemy's loss, one lieutenant-colonel, one lieutenant, and about 150 men. Seventy stand of arms and several braces of pistols were collected and a boat with military stores and clothing."

(To be continued)

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

PRESENTED BY DR. FRANK C. SAWERS.

206—Old Volume.

"History of the Martyrs" printed at Ephrata, Pa., near Lancaster, in 1748. It is a volume 9½ by 15 inches and 4½ inches thick. The type was made especially and of course the book was printed on a hand press. The compiler of the work, specimens of which are rare, was a man long since forgotten, T. J. V. Braght. The thrifty publisher, in order to accommodate those of other religious beliefs, had two editions made, which differed only in regard to the frontispiece, in which a representation of baptism by immersion or by sprinkling very accommodatingly appeared. The book has an index and marginal annotations, and is a very valuable work.

207—Volume

"The Parable of the Pilgrim." By Symon Patrick, D.D., Dean of Petersburgh. Printed for Richard Ghiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church Yard, London, MDCLXXXVII.

PRESENTED BY THE LATE DR. J. P. BURCHFIELD.

208—Volume

"The English Reader" or pieces in Prose and Poetry, selected from the best writers, and designed to assist young persons to read with propriety and effect, to improve their language and sentiments, and to inculcate some of the most important principles of piety and virtue. By Lindley Murray. Printed and Published by Cramer and Spear, at the Franklin Head Bookstore, Wood street, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1823.

209—Volume

"Select Remains of the Rev. John Brown," late minister of the gospel at Haddington, who died June 19, 1787. Containing (1) Memoirs of his life; (2) Letters to his friends; (3) Religious tracts; (4) Advices to his children; (5) An account of some of his dying sayings, and (6) Dying advices to his congregation. To which is added, Address to Students of Divinity. Printed and Published by Cramer, Spear and Eichbaum, at the Franklin Head Bookstore, in Market, between Front and Second streets, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1810.

PRESENTED BY JOHN S. RITENOUR.

210—Volume

"Reminiscences and Sketches, Historical and Biographical." By William M. Hall, 1890.

211—Volume

"Songs of Every Day." By Arthur G. Burgoyne, 1900.

PRESENTED BY BURD S. PATTERSON.

212—Autograph Album

"Containing photographs of twenty-four Civil War generals."

PRESENTED BY WILLIAM T. BEATTY.

213—Autograph Album.

With the autograph of Andrew Jackson, 1825.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Entries in the Account Book of Casper Reel, Pittsburgh Pa., 1774-1802

BOOK PRESENTED BY MRS. R. A. McKEE.

Oct. 12 1774
Samuel Sample Dr
To Washing and mending 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-5-0

Oct. 24 1774
Stock Dr to George Groghan
To 42 lb of Deer Skins at 2/ pr lb ---------- 4-4-0

Oct. 26 1774
George Groghan Dr to Cash ---------- 3-0-0

Oct. 31 1774
John Small By Hugh Clanegan Dr
To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins 4/6 and Cash ---------- 0-7-0

Oct. 31 1774
George Girty Dr To Braining 1 Buck
Skin paid by Mr. Groghan ---------- 0-1-6

Nov. 4 1774
George Groghan Dr to Drefsing
2 Elk Skins at 3/6 & 1 fawn Skin ---------- 0-3-6

Nov. 5 1774
John Campbell Dr to Drefsing 1 Deer Skin ---------- 2/6 &
making 1 pair Breeches 5 & Some Leather ---------- 1/6 0-9-0

Nov. 8 1774
Andrew Robinson Tayler Dr
To 1½ Bushel of Salt ---------- 1-13-0

Nov. 9 1774
Stock Dr to Andrew Robinson Tayler
By one Hile Waite 32 lb at 3 ---------- 0-13-0

Nov. 15 1774
Phillip Witsel Dr To Drefsing four Deer
Skins ---------- 0-3-0

Nov. 16 1774
To making one pair Breeches ---------- 0-7-6

Nov. 16 1774
Christopher Hays By Henry Hofman Dr
To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins at 2/6 ---------- 0-5-0
To making 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-7-6
To Silk ---------- 0-1-6

Nov. 16 1774
James Forbush Dr
To making 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-6-6

Nov. 22 1774
John Campbell By James Mcdowel Dr
To 1 pair Breeches ---------- 1-12-0

Nov. 23 1774
William Elliott Dr
To washing & mending 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-7-6
To washing & mending 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-4-0
for William Porter & 2 pair Buttons ---------- 0-0-3

Nov. 30 1774
William Wilson Dr
To washing & &mending 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-6-0

Nov. 30 1774
George Groghan Dr
To 1½ Bushel Salt ---------- 1-13-0

Dec. 1 1774
To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins ---------- 1-2-0

Dec. 9 1774
Thomas Christey Dr
To making 1 pair Breeches & 7 Buttons ---------- 0-4-0

Dec. 11 1774
George Groghan Dr
By George Girty for Drefsing 1 Buck Skin ---------- 3/6 &
trimengs 4/6 & making 1 pair Breeches ---------- 7/8 &
Brainning & Smoking 1 Skin 1/6 ---------- 0-17-0
By Peter Shaver for making & Drefsing &
trimengs for 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-16-6
By Mr Campbell for making & Drefsing ---------- 0-12-0
paid By Mr. Campbell

Dec. 14 1774
John Doremyer Dr
To washing & mending 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-3-0

Dec. 17 1774
George Groghan By John Crafferd Dr
To Drefsing of Deer Skin ---------- 0-10-0
To making & Trimmings for 1 pair Breeches ---------- 1-2-0

Dec. 19 1774
John Campell Esqr By his Sarvent Daniel Dr
To Drefsing Skin at 3/6 & making 1 pair Breeches at 7/6 0-11-0

Dec. 18 1774
Frederick Ferry By Paul Long Dr
To making 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-7-6

Dec. 20 1774
Stock Dr to Frederick Ferry
To 3 Dozen of Buttons at 1/6 & Thread at 2/6 ---------- 0-7-0

Dec. 30 1774
John Colance Dr
To Drefsing 2 Skins at 4/6 & making 1 pair Breeches ---- 0-12-0
To Leather for wastband ---------- 0-2-0

Jan. 2 1775
John Campbell Esqr By a Bell Dr
To 1 pair Breeches ---------- 1-15-0

Jan. 2 1775
Majer John Conneley By Jack McClaglen Dr
Exchanging 1 pair Breeches for 1 Deer Skin ---------- 0-13-0

Jan. 18 1775
Simon Girty Dr
To 1 pair Breeches ---------- 1-10-0

Jan. 20 1775
Edward Armstrong Dr
To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins ----------0-4-6
To making 1 pair Breeches ----------0-7-6
To Silk & Thread ----------0-1-6

LETTER OF JAMES PATTERSON TO COLONEL JOEL DERREE

Presented By Joseph Forsythe, Esq.

August 27th 1812
Dear Sir

I this moment returned from Pittsburgh all there is in confusion on account of the capture of Genr. Hull at Detroyt which I expect you have heard of. It is feared that the British & Indians are by this time in possession of all our N.Western posts, if so every exertion ought to be made for the protection of the frontiers for you are aware of the usual mode of Warfare with the Indians when any ways successfull— The Militia of Beaver County have volunteered and marched yesterday, those of Washington are assembling &c. I think it would be very comendable if you ware to assemble your regt as soon as possible that we might know what arms we have and how many men would be ready & willing to go on a scout if circumstances should require it. Excuse my freedom & believe me to be Sir your friend &c.

James Patterson

Col Joel
Ferree

P S Please send word if you think proper to call us together.

SURNAMES

Men once were surnamed from their shape or estate,
(You all may from history worm it);
There was Louis the Bulky, and Henry the Great,
John Lackland and Peter the Hermit.
But now when the door-plates of Misters and Dames
Are read, each so constantly varies
From the owner's trade, figure and calling, surnames
Seem given by the rule of contraries.

Mr. Box though provoked, never doubles his fist,
Mr. Burns in his grate has no fuel,
Mr. Playfair won't catch me at hazard or whist,
Mr. Coward was winged in a duel;
Mr. Wise was a dunce, Mr. King was a Whig,
Mr. Coffin's uncommonly sprightly;
And huge Mr. Little broke down in a gig
While driving fat Mrs. Golightly.

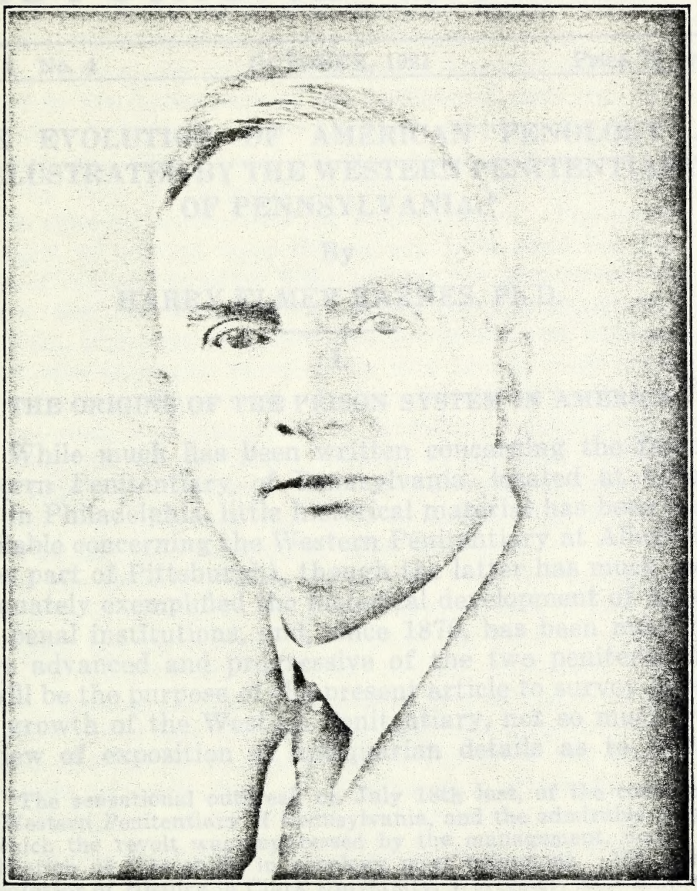
Mr. Drinkwater's apt to indulge in a dram,
Mr. Angel's an absolute fury;
And meek Mr. Lion let fierce Mr. Lamb
Tweak his nose in the lobby of Drury.
At Bath, where the feeble go more than the stout,
Mr. Heavyside danced a bolero
Over poor Mr. Lightfoot, confined with the gout,
(A conduct well worthy of Nero.)

Miss Joy, wretched maid, when she chose Mr. Love,
Found nothing but sorrow await her;
She now holds in wedlock, as true as a dove,
The fondest of mates, Mr. Hayter.
Mr. Oldcastle dwells in a modern-built hut,
Miss Sage is of madcaps the archest,
Of all the queer bachelor's Cupid e'er cut,
Old Mr. Younghusband's the starchest.

Mr. Child in a passion, knocked down Mr. Rock,
Mr. Stone like an aspen leaf quivers,
Miss Poole used to dance, but stands still like a stock,
Ever since she became Mrs. Rivers.
Mr. Swift hobbles onward, no mortal knows how—
He moves as though cords had entwined him;
Mr. Metcalf ran off upon meeting a cow,
With pale Mr. Turnbull behind him.

Mr. Barker's as mute as a fish in the sea,
Mr. Miles never goes on a journey,
Mr. Gotobed sits up till half after three.
Mr. Makepiece was bred an attorney;
Mr. Gardener can't tell a flower from a root,
Mr. Wild with timidity draws back,
Mr. Ryder performs all his journeys on foot,
Mr. Foot all his journeys on horseback.

Mr. Penny, whose father was rolling in wealth,
Knocked down all the fortune his dad won;
Large Mr. Le Fevre's the picture of health,
Mr. Goodenough is but a bad one;
Mr. Crookshanks stepped into three thousand a year
By showing his leg to an heiress.
Now I hope you'll acknowledge I've made it quite clear,
Surnames ever go by contraries.



HON. JOHN FRANCIES

Warden of the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania
and
Father of the Agrarian Penitentiary System

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 4 No. 4 OCTOBER, 1921 Price 75 cents

THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN PENOLOGY AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE WESTERN PENITENTIARY OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

By

HARRY ELMER BARNES, Ph.D.

I.

THE ORIGINS OF THE PRISON SYSTEM IN AMERICA

While much has been written concerning the famous Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, located at Cherry Hill in Philadelphia, little historical material has been made available concerning the Western Penitentiary at Allegheny, (now part of Pittsburgh), though the latter has much more adequately exemplified the historical development of American penal institutions, and, since 1870, has been much the more advanced and progressive of the two penitentiaries. It will be the purpose of the present article to survey briefly the growth of the Western Penitentiary, not so much with a view of exposition of antiquarian details as to setting

*The sensational outbreak on July 18th last, of the convicts in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, and the admirable manner in which the revolt was suppressed by the management, makes the publication of this study in penology most opportune. Mr. Barnes is professor of History in Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, and is Historian to the New Jersey Prison Inquiry Commission, and to the Pennsylvania Commission to Investigate Prison Systems.—Editor

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

forth with brevity and clarity the main features of its historical evolution in relation to the chief trends in penological development in the country at large.

As in Europe, the prison system in America began to take shape in the latter part of the eighteenth century. (1) During most of the colonial period there were no penal institutions in the strict sense of that term. Crimes were punished by fine or corporal punishment and there was little or no need of institutions for incarceration. The nearest approach to prisons were the county jails used for the detention of accused pending trial and for the imprisonment of debtors, and the workhouses applied for the repression of pauperism, vagrancy and immorality. In 1682-84 William Penn and the Quakers, repelled by the bloody and cruel methods of corporal punishment then practised in Europe and the colonies, had attempted to introduce imprisonment at hard labor as the prevailing method of punishing crime, but their humane effort was submerged in the savagery of the age and little progress was made until after the Revolutionary War and the separation from England.

It was the state of Pennsylvania that took the initiative in America in establishing the prison system and in making imprisonment the usual method of punishing those convicted of crime. The influences which led to this movement were chiefly the impulse of the humanitarianism of the Quakers from Penn onward and the growing spirit of enlightenment which was developing in Europe as a result of the labors and writings of such men as Montesquieu, Beccaria and Howard. Both sets of forces are evident in the writings of the Philadelphia reformers from 1776 to 1829. By a series of laws passed from 1786 to 1794 the barbarous colonial penal code was abolished, the death penalty removed for all crimes other than murder, corporal punishment done away with, and the Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia turned into an improvised state prison. The famous Pennsylvania system of solitary confinement was here given an initial if imperfect trial. (2) The Walnut and Arch Street Jails proving inadequate to the needs of the state and overcrowding rendering the penal system a burlesque, the *Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons* sent a memorial to the state legislature asking that state peni-

tentiaries be erected in convenient parts of the state for the reception of those convicted of crime. (3) This led to the act of March 3, 1818, appropriating sixty thousand dollars for building a state penitentiary at Allegheny on the principle of solitary confinement. (4) Three years later an act of March 20, 1821, made a grant of one hundred thousand dollars for a new state penitentiary in the eastern part of the state to replace the Walnut Street Jail. (5) This institution became the famous Eastern Penitentiary, known the world over as the parent model institution conducted on the basis of the Pennsylvania system of solitary confinement. From the imitation of Pennsylvania the modern prison system came into existence between 1795 and 1835 in most of the then existing states of the Union. In the state prison at Auburn, New York, there was evolved between 1821 and 1825 the great rival or Auburn system of congregate work by day and separate confinement at night. The first fifty years of American penology were occupied for the most part by the struggle of these two systems and the ultimate triumph of the Auburn system.

II.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE WESTERN PENITENTIARY.

The first Western Penitentiary was erected according to a plan drawn up by William Strickland, a distinguished Philadelphia architect. The commissioners in charge of construction from 1818 to 1826 were James Ross, Walter Lowrie, David Evans and George Stevenson. (6) Strickland was apparently guided by his knowledge of the prison at Ghent, Belgium, and by Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon*. The heavy outside walls were octagonal, as at Ghent, while the cells were arranged in a circle about a central observation building, as suggested by Bentham. Yet, instead of relatively open cells, which Bentham had contemplated, light was almost wholly excluded from those of the Allegheny penitentiary, to which access could be had only through iron doors hung on stone walls three feet thick. The structure was designed, completed and opened according to the administrative principle of solitary confinement without labor. It

was a massive stone building, wholly unsuited for any purpost except a fortress. No fort ever erected in Western Pennsylvania at all approached it in massive or impregnable construction. Opened in July, 1826, it provided one hundred and ninety cells each eight by twelve feet in dimensions. When fully completed it contained two hundred and sixty-six cells. Its cost to 1826 was one hundred and seventy-eight thousand dollars. (7)

The original penitentiary structure proved a great mistake and disappointment. It had been erected on the principle of solitary confinement without labor, but the act of April 23, 1829, ordered that both penitentiaries should be operated according to the principles of solitary confinement at hard labor. Neither condition was possible in the prison structure. The cells were too dark and unhealthy to permit continuous solitary confinement and were too small to make it possible for prisoners to work in them with any facility or success. The inspectors in an early report described the defects of the institution: (8)

> It was unfortunate that the building was first put up and the system of punishment afterwards prescribed. There is, perhaps, no trade or occupation at which a convict could work in any of the cells. Independent of the want of room, in a kind of vault about 7 by 9 in the clear, there is not sufficient light, the only supply being what can reach the culprit after passing through the narrow gratings of a heavy iron door, hung on stone jams 3 feet thick, after passing through an outdoor and across a vestibule 6 feet deep. Constant confinement in these cells is found incompatible with the health of the convicts, and we have found it necessary to permit two or three to be put out alternately, which gives an opportunity of intercourse to about twenty, which greatly diminishes the benefit of solitary confinement.

As a result of this situation an act was passed on February 27, 1833, directing the demolition of the cells of the penitentiary and the erection of new cell blocks, so as to make possible more healthy quarters for the prisoners and to give better facilities for carrying on the industries of the prison in the individual cells. (9) The new structure was designed by John Haviland, the architect of the Eastern Penitentiary at Cherry Hill. Few prisons have had a more brief and unsuccessful existence than the Western Penitentiary in its original form.

Instead of following the original circular plan the remodelled structure was built upon the cell wing or block plan

which had been used in the Philadelphia penitentiary. Two wings, containing one hundred and seventy cells, were completed in 1837. The prison soon became crowded and a third block was erected in 1852 which contained sixty cells. The addition proved inadequate and extensions to the existing cell wings were made between 1860 and 1864, bringing up the total number of cells to three hundred and twenty-four, but the number of prisoners had increased more rapidly, there being in 1867 four hundred and eighty-six prisoners. Between 1868 and 1870 a new building was erected which contained a female ward, a hospital, dispensary, bathrooms, laundry, library, store-rooms, receiving cells, dungeons, and a chapel seating six hundred and fifty. The fourth and last block of cells was opened in 1872, and a shop was completed in 1874 to permit the institution to take advantage of the act of 1869 allowing congregate labor. The total cost of this prison was six hundred and forty-four thousand dollars. (10)

These costly additions had scarcely been utilized when an agitation began for the abandonment of the whole institution. Although originally constructed well outside the center of the city, the prison had come to be surrounded by some of the best residential and park districts of Allegheny. An act was passed on March 7, 1873, creating a commission to decide upon a site for a new penitentiary. (11) It was proposed by some that the prison be located on a large rural site where farming might be the chief occupation, but the sentiment against abandoning Allegheny and manufacturing industry proved insuperable. Had this proposition prevailed, the Western Penitentiary might have been in 1875 what it became after 1915.

It was finally decided that the best location was the site which had just been abandoned by the Western House of Refuge further on the outskirts of Allegheny along the bank of the Ohio River. This was a location once used by an institution, was alleged to be attractive on account of being on the river side, and was located at a suburban railroad station where the majority of the board of inspectors could stop off on their way to and from their duties in Pittsburgh and Allegheny. These considerations served to secure a decision for the House of Refuge situation. It later proved very unsatis-

factory on account of the dampness, dense fogs, spring floods, and subsequent restrictive labor legislation. The design for the new prison was drawn up on an ambitious scale by E. M. Butz, but was never built according to the full specifications. (12) The north wing was opened in 1882 and the south wing ten years later. There were eleven hundred and sixty cells provided for men and forty for women, the latter being improvised from the old House of Refuge buildings, which were also utilized for shop purposes. The outside cell-wing arrangements, characteristic of Pennsylvania system prisons, was abandoned in favor of the great inside cell-blocks which had been followed in Auburn system prisons. This new Western Penitentiary was at the time of its completion the most expensive and pretentious prison structure which had been erected in America, the total cost being over two million dollars, but the poor judgment shown in selecting the site led to the speedy rise of propositions for abandoning this great architectural octopus. It was damp and unhealthy; the dense fogs retained the smoke of nearby factories often making it too dark for the convicts to leave their cells before noon; serious floods in 1884, 1902 and 1907 made the institution almost uninhabitable for weeks at a time; and manufacturing was well-nigh paralyzed by the unfortunate restrictive labor legislation following 1897.

In 1909 John Francies became Warden of the Western Penitentiary and assumed leadership of the campaign to remove it to another and more desirable site. An act of March 30, 1911, authorized the procuring of a new location, and this time the sentiment for a rural site prevailed. A tract of some five thousand acres was secured at Rockview in Centre County and plans made for a great central prison farm which would supersede both the Eastern and Western Penitentiaries. New buildings have since been in the process of construction and the new central institution promises to become the most ambitious experiment yet carried out in the field of agrarian penitentiary projects. (13) It was at one time hoped by the progressive reform element that the experiment might go far enough to embody the cottage plan of dormitories, but it now seems that the cell block and great encircling wall scheme, which has been the characteristic stigma of prisons for a century, will be retained.

III.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF THE WESTERN PENITENTIARY.

The first legislative act touching upon the administrative authority in the new state penitentiaries was that of April 10, 1826, creating the governing authorities of the new Western Penitentiary. These were to consist of nine inspectors selected from citizens of Allegheny County by the city councils of Pittsburgh, the commissioners of Allegheny County, and the justices of the court of quarter sessions. (14) This act was soon superseded by that of April 23, 1829, creating the governing bodies of the Eastern and Western Penitentiaries. The chief authority for penal administration in each was vested in a board of five inspectors appointed for a term of two years by the justices of the supreme court from taxable citizens of Pittsburgh or Allegheny County. The inspectors were to have general charge over the administrative, industrial and financial affairs of the penitentiary and to appoint and fix the salaries of the warden, physician, clerk and religious instructor. The immediate administrative supervision of the institution was put in the hands of the warden who was to appoint the under-keepers. (15)

There has been a remarkable degree of uniformity and continuity in the state's policy as to the administrative authority in the state penitentiaries. No important deviation from the precedent created by the act of 1829 has taken place. Subsequent revisions of this law have touched only minor details and additions. A moral instructor was added to the administrative staff in 1839 and a parole officer in 1909. In 1874 the power of appointing the inspectors was taken from the judges and given to the governor. These modifications were embodied in the act of May 23, 1913, which clarified and codified existing practice and legislation. (16) The term of the inspectors is now four years. Some significant initial steps towards securing centralization in administration were taken by the act of April 24, 1869, creating the Board of Public Charities, and that of June 1, 1915, establishing the Prison Labor Commission.

The maintenance side of the administration of the Western Penitentiary goes back in its origins to an act of

May 27, 1789, relating to the Walnut Street Jail. It directed that the support of prisoners sent here from other counties should fall upon these counties in proportion to the number of convicts sent there. (17) When the two penitentiary districts were organized in the state by the law of April 10, 1826, it was stipulated that the expense of maintaining the inmates of the state prison in each district should be borne by the counties in the district in proportion to the number sent by each county. (18) Earlier provisions were replaced by the act of April 23, 1829, which has remained in force to the present day with but little modification. It retained the general principle followed in the acts of 1789 and 1826. The following paragraph describes the most important features of the financial arrangements:

> The expense of maintaining and keeping the convicts in the said Eastern and Western Penitentiaries, shall be borne by the respective counties in which they shall be convicted, and the said expense shall be paid to the said Inspectors by orders to be drawn by them on the Treasurers of the said Counties, who shall accept and pay the same: Provided Also, That the said orders shall not be presented to the said Treasurers before the first Monday of May in each and every year; And Provided Also, That the said Inspectors shall annually, on or before the first Monday of February transmit by public mail, to the Commissioners of such Counties as may become indebted for convicts confined in said Penitentaries, an account of the expense of keeping and maintaining said convicts, which account shall be signed by said Inspectors, and be sworn or affirmed to by them and attested by the Clerk; and it shall be the duty of said Commissioners, immediately on receipt of said accounts, to give notice to the Treasurers of their respective Counties of the amount of said accounts, with instructions to collect and retain monies for the payment of said orders when presented; and all salaries of the officers of the said Penitentiaries shall be paid by the State; and it shall be the duty of the Inspectors to transmit to the Auditor General the names of the persons by them appointed, and the salaries agreed to be paid to each of them under the provisions of this Act, which sums shall be paid in the usual manner, by warrants drawn by the Governor upon the Treasurer of the Commonwealth.. (19)

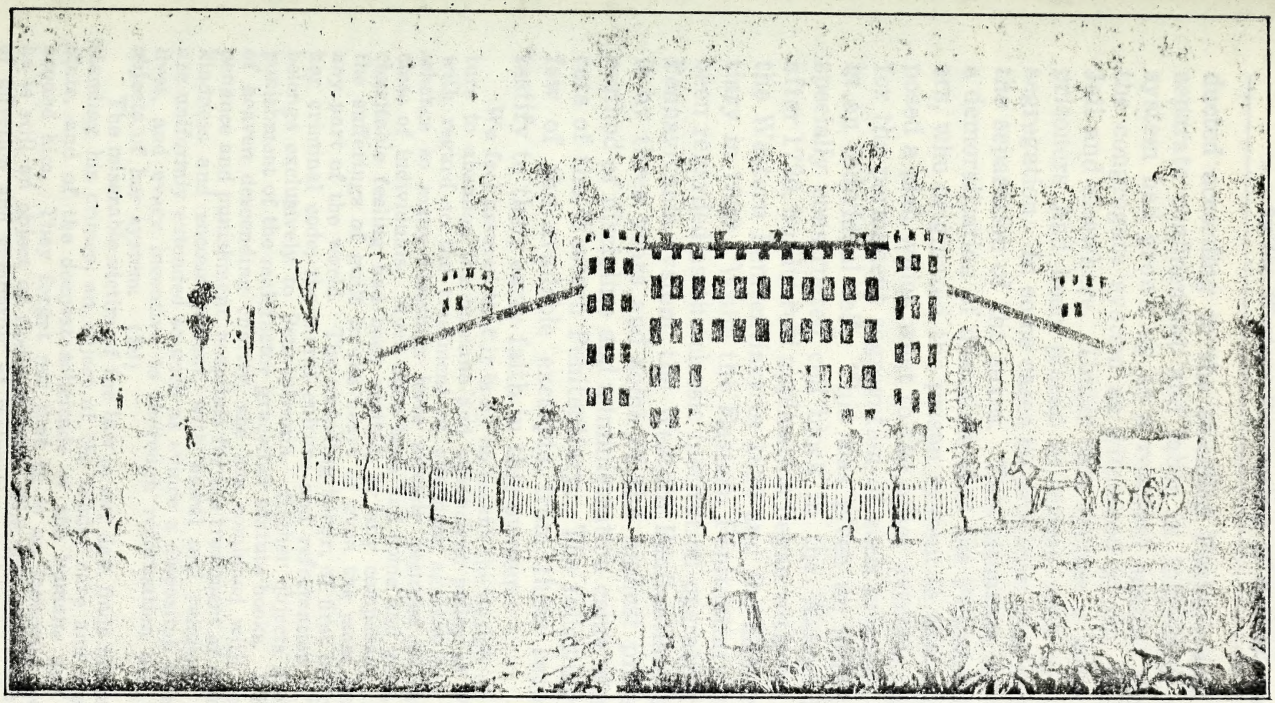
It has also become customary for the state to make appropriations for all important alterations and additions to the buildings and such extraordinary expenditures.

IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCIPLINARY AND REFORMATIVE SYSTEM IN THE WESTERN PENITENTIARY.

1. The Systems of Prison Discipline

From 1826 to 1869 the Western Penitentiary was con-



WESTERN PENITENTIARY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN 1844

From The Western Literary Magazine of January, 1844

ducted according to the so-called Pennsylvania system of separate confinement and labor in individual cells. This system had grown up as a reaction against the abuses of the congregate system as witnessed in the Walnut Street Jail and elsewhere. Under this system a large number of prisoners had been placed in rooms with no attempt at segregation. In some cases no provision was made even for the separation of the sexes. This situation led to so great a demoralization of discipline that the Philadelphia reformers, who originated the prison system in this country, proposed a plan which went to the other extreme and provided for the permanent segregation of each prisoner by himself in an individual cell. This was given an initial trial in a specially constructed cell block in the Walnut Street Jail after 1790, but its real application began with the opening of the Western Penitentiary in 1826 and the Eastern Penitentiary in 1829. While the Eastern Penitentiary has usually been regarded as the classic institution operating under the Pennsylvania system, the Western Penitentiary anticipated it by three years and some of the highest praise for this method of discipline and administration came from the officers of the Western Penitentiary. The following are but a few of the available excerpts from their reports which testify to their early faith in this system:

> We feel assured that it is by no means the design of the Legislature to abandon the humane and beneficient policy of Pennsylvania with regard to the treatment of offenders against her laws; from whence so many blessings have already resulted to that unhappy class of individuals. Ages upon ages had come and gone, before any charitable feeling had been excited, or any compassion aroused for the sufferings of guilt in the heart of even the most benevolent, in any part of the world. The unfading honor, of first introducing into her criminal code, the moral culture and reformation of the guilty, belongs exclusively to Pennsylvania. Higher objects than the mere punishment of the malefactor grace her statute books. With the hand of heaven descending charity, she has combined with her places of penance and punishment, hospitals for the treatment of moral diseases, kindness and encouragement, with moral and religious instruction, are uniformly extended to such as evince a dispositon to amend their lives, and every incentive to thorough reformation are inseparable objects of her system. (20)
>
> The miserable victim of the law in our day, finds himself notwithstanding his crimes, an object of the tender care and regard of the state, and of the deepest solicitude of the humane and benevolent around him. They forget not that he is an immortal spirit. That he is still an object of God's regard. The soft and soothing sounds of affection and sympathy, of instruction and prayer, fall upon his

ear. Useful and salutary labor, clean and wholesome apartments, a comfortable place to lay his aching head and weary limbs, air and water, ample sustenance, the light of Heaven and the Holy Scriptures to guide his heart to God. Such is the spirit of the Pennsylvania system. It is blessed from on high and will remain an imperishable memorial of her enlightened beneficence and humane consideration for the guilty inmates of her public prisons, and is now spreading its practical benefits by similar institutions reared on the base of her enlightened humanity, not only through sections of our own, but over governments and countries of the old world. (21)

Pennsylvania, the precursor of all her sister states in the present system of prison discipline, has justified its wisdom before the world in the practical results of its successful administration in this institution. Anticipated evils, existing more in speculative humanity and morbid philanthropy than in substantive fact, have failed in their realization. Disease and mental imbecility so confidently predicted as necessarily incident to separate confinement, have resulted in health and intellectual improvement. Depraved tendencies, characteristic of the convict, have been restrained by the absence of vicious association, and in the mild teaching of Christianity the unhappy criminal finds a solace for an involuntary exile from the comforts of social life. If hungry, he is fed; if naked, he is clothed; if destitute of the first rudiments of education, he is taught to read and write; and if he has never been blessed with a means of livelihood, he is schooled in a mechanical art, which in after life may be to him the source of profit and respectability. Employment is not toil nor labor weariness. He embraces them with alacrity, as contributing to his moral and mental elevation. They help to fill the zodiac of his time, which would otherwise be spent in unavailing complaint, and fruitless importunity for release. Shut out from a tumultuous world, and separated from those equally guilty with himself, he can indulge his remorse unseen, and find ample opportunity for reflection and reformation. His daily intercourse is with good men, who, in administering to his necessities, animate his crushed hopes, and pour into his ear the oil of joy and consolation. He has seasonable and comfortable clothing; he has the best of medical attendance; he has books to read, and ink and paper to communicate with his friends at stated periods; and weekly he enjoys the privilege of hearing God's holy word expounded by a faithful and zealous Christian minister.

Thus provided, and anxiously cared for by the officers of the prison, he is in a better condition than many beyond its walls guiltless of crime. He labors, but it is for his subsistence, like any other member of the community, and by his industry he relieves that community of the burden of his support.

It is a fact worthy to be remembered by the Legislature, that for the last ten years, not one county sending convicts to the Western Penitentiary has been called upon to contribute a solitary dollar towards their subsistence. Such being the domestic economy of this institution, and such its happy results, we are not required to enter into an elaborate vindication of the principle upon which it is based. The system has disappointed the anticipation of its enemies, and surpassed the confident expectations of its friends, and there, for the present, we leave it. (22)

In spite of this excessive praise of the separate system,

criticism of it developed within the state. Between 1821 and 1825 the authorities of the state prison at Auburn, New York, had devised a system of prison discipline and administration which steered midway between the extremes of the old congregate system and the Pennsylvania system of solitary confinement. They allowed congregate labor in the prison shops by day and compelled separation in individual cells by night. Perhaps the chief advantage of this method was the fact that it offered better opportunities for a more advanced and effective economic organization through the shop or factory system and the machine methods which could not be introduced into the separate cells of the Pennsylvania system. (23) This Auburn system made an appeal to a new and progressive board of inspectors appointed in 1864. In 1866 they presented the following convincing summary of the weaknesses of the Pennsylvania system:

In looking over the Annual Reports made by the Officers of this Institution to the State Legislature for more than thirty years, we find that they have rarely ever omitted to express their entire satisfaction with the workings of the separate system of confinement which Pennsylvania has adopted as her own.

We are not at this time disposed to controvert the self-complaisant arguments so profusely lavished upon the Legislature from both extremities of the state, in their Annual Reports as to our "humane and reformatory" System of Prison discipline.

We think, however, that it might be well for the Legislature to look at the other side of this question and inquire, whether, in the onward progress of events and in the constant and interesting changes that are always being developed in the world, there might not be a more excellent plan adopted or worked out for the improvement and reformation of this unfortunate people than the one which we have adopted? As we have made from time to time our frequent visitations to the convict's cell, and have engaged him in conversation and studied his situation, we have often been oppressed with the feeling of despair that seemed to settle upon his face as he would look forward (sometimes through a quarter of a century) to a hopeless future. In his loneliness he broods over his condition, walking his dreary cell in the quiet hours of the night, and during the unemployed moments of the day. No human face visible save that of the Officers and his Keepers, he feels that "his hand is against every man and every man's hand is against him," and having no object or interest beyond his own walls to attract his attention or arrest his thoughts, he falls back upon himself and his fancied wrongs, and in sullen anguish preys upon his own vitals!

Man is formed for society. He cannot well live without it. Ostracize him from the world and his fellow men, and he soon looses his own self-respect, because he feels that he has forfeited that of others.

We hold these men for their reformation as well as punishment.

Would not the successful accomplishment of the former purpose supersede, to a great extent, the necessity for the latter?

The great problem, which we think is not yet solved, is *what* is the best mode of accomplishing this end? If those who frame our laws consider that our present System is the most desirable and ought not to be modified or changed, then we would urge upon them the imperative necessity of making provision at once for an increased number of cells in this prison. (24)

The inspectors were able to secure the passage of the act of April 8, 1869, which allowed the congregation of prisoners in shops for industrial purposes and thus terminated the solitary system in the Western Penitentiary. (25) In their report for 1871 they expressed their satisfaction with the new system, and three years later they were even more convinced of its advantages:

We have just emerged from a chrysalis or transition stage in the management of this institution. The reach from a rigid solitary system of discipline to the more liberal and enlightened congregate idea, is a tedious and difficult one, especially where public opinion has been educated for a long series of years to the belief that the existing regime is infallible. The public and the prisoner have each sustained us. The cordial endorsements which we have received from those who are interested in the moral reforms of the day, have greatly encouraged and emboldened us in all that we have done; and the thankful recognition of our efforts to benefit them, physically, morally and religiously, which we are constantly receiving from the convicts, has been reward enough for all our labor and toil. (26)

But to the prisoner the advantages of this change are still more apparent. When taken from his solitary cell, his strength is debilitated, his appetite fastidious, his face pale, the color from his cheek gone, and his eye has assumed the incipient appearance of insanity; his incarcerated life has been one of hopeless misanthropy, and often times his physical strength has become prostrated and his mental activity benumbed by the indulgence of vice and sensuality which a solitary life tends greatly to promote.

Now look at these same men in their places in the workshops. Their manhood and self-respect have returned, their countenances show an intelligent interest in their work, a healthy appetite has returned, the bloom on the cheek has resumed its place, and if one did not *know* that he was in a prison, he could not distinguish these from any similar workmen outside.

Yet best and most of all is the wholesome discipline which *labor* always brings in its train. There is nothing so promotive of good order as to make an imprisoned man *tired*; his sleep is sweet at night, and he has no time for mischief during the day. (27)

It appears that the inspectors were not content to adopt the principles of the old Auburn system, but engrafted upon it some of the more advanced practices of the Irish system of prison discipline. This had been introduced into Ireland after 1853 by Sir Walter Crofton and embodied the impor-

tant principle of classification, grading and promotion of prisoners. It was advocated in this country during the decade of the "sixties" by a group of reformers, of whom Frank Sanborn was the most active and enthusiastic. In their report for 1871 the inspectors describe their effort to introduce at least certain important phases of the Irish system. Both the inspectors and the Chaplain J. L. Milligan were warm in their praise of this system and would have gone further with its utilization had not the laws of the state prevented.

We are not allied to either of the extremes of separate or congregate government: avoiding the rock of Scylla on the one hand, as well as the whirlpool of Charybdis on the other, we have endeavored to select from each that which was good, and by engrafting the one on the other, have, we think, hit upon the correct idea of an American prison.

We have introduced three grades of cells:

First, the punishment (not dark) cell, for the incorrigibles, where the prisoner is completely isolated—*severely let alone*—and has nothing to do.

Second, the separate, or Pennsylvania cells; (a portion of one wing being appropriated for this purpose) where the occasional insubordinates are placed; they have work and books, but none of the other privileges of the institution.

Third, the ordinary cells, where all the well behaved prisoners are kept, when not at work in the shops or yards.

The idea of *disgrace* incurred and *promotion* secured, is encouraged in this way, and thus far with satisfactory results. (28)

Probably no better description of the change from the Pennsylvania to the Auburn system exists than the following summary taken from the report of Chaplain J. L. Milligan written in 1906:

When I assumed my duties it was in the old castle-like prison in West Park—there then, and for long years previously the fundamental control was based on the "solitary confinement plan." Each cell was a costly little prison in itself.

The unnatural isolation was not looked upon favorably by the progressive Board of Inspectors and the kind hearted warden. The character of the industries was cellular and antiquated. The financial returns were meager, but the methods were honored by age, and hence firmly fixed. "They long bore the ills they had rather than fly to others they knew not of" with increasing resentment.

They well knew that the proposed and desired changes which lay in their minds would be a severe jolt to the old methods.

The architectural construction had aimed only to secure the safekeeping of the prisoners, regardless of sufficient natural light and fresh air necessary to the cure of the morbid mental condition invoked by the surrounding of the inmates of the cells.

Two strong doors, one of oak plank lined with iron, and the other door solid boiler plate iron, opened from the corridors to the cell—

the prisoner's home for the period of his sentence. A small opening near the top of the inner door, closed by an adjustable slide, was where the daily food was passed to the inmate. The ceilings and floors of the cells were solid stone, so also the outside wall in which a narrow vertically inclined gash was cut for the purpose of admitting all the air and natural light that the prisoner enjoyed.

Here in this tomb-like limitation he lived and ate and did the work appointed to him. On Sabbath day here was also his church.

The old crazy loom for weaving cloth was his constant and only companion.

All these conditions served to more deeply depress his mind and certainly unfit him for manful conflict in free live competition at the end of his sentence.

At the Sunday services which were conducted in each corridor, with the prisoners standing in cells with their ears at the opening of the slide in the inner iron door and the outside door ajar a few inches and held on a short chain, he might catch some of the music and the words of the speaker through the limited avenues of stone and iron.

It was not to be expected that the Hon. Charles Dickens in his American notes would fail to tell England what he saw in our prisons.

This was my environment for public religious services for a few Sabbaths after I began my life work in prison. Its short duration was a great relief.

The application which the brave inspectors, strengthened by the conjointed appeals of some true philanthropists to the legislature brought the enactment of a law, brief in words but mighty in its transforming power of the old regime.

This law (that of 1869) gave to the inspectors the privilege to congregate the prisoners for "labor, learning and worship."

Then both cell doors were thrown wide open. The prisoners bringing their stools came out and seated themselves in the corridor at their cells where they could see each other and hear all the services.

To them, these new free methods of public religious services much more emphasized the meaning of liberty and love.

Under this strange condition to them, the order and attention were perfect.

Soon a commodious chapel was erected and the prisoners were assembled for hearing the Gospel on Sabbath morning; under more natural and normal conditions, classes for the study of the Bible were formed for the Sabbath afternoon.

A schoolroom was improvised and a day school started for elementary instruction.

Workshops followed and soon the inspectors realized that they had met loyal approval for the good that had come even amid the unfavorable buildings.

Then with the same courage, they proposed a new prison in which the old past conditions should have no place. That great wish has been accomplished. "Riverside," as they called the enlarged prison, now stands as a monument to their memory. (29)

The remaining interesting phase of disciplinary progress in the Western Penitentiary has been connected with the erection of the new penitentiary at Rockview. Here a

large number of convicts have been kept in a great dormitory without any separation or many guards. A merit house where qualified convicts may live practically without guards and which is based upon the honor system has been provided. Several hundred convicts have been kept on this great farm without prison walls, with a small percentage of escapes. The success of this experiment conducted by Warden Francies has been remarkable, and in some ways condemns in advance the sort of institution which is being erected through the use of these very men and methods, namely, one with great cell-blocks and surrounded by the stigmatic wall.

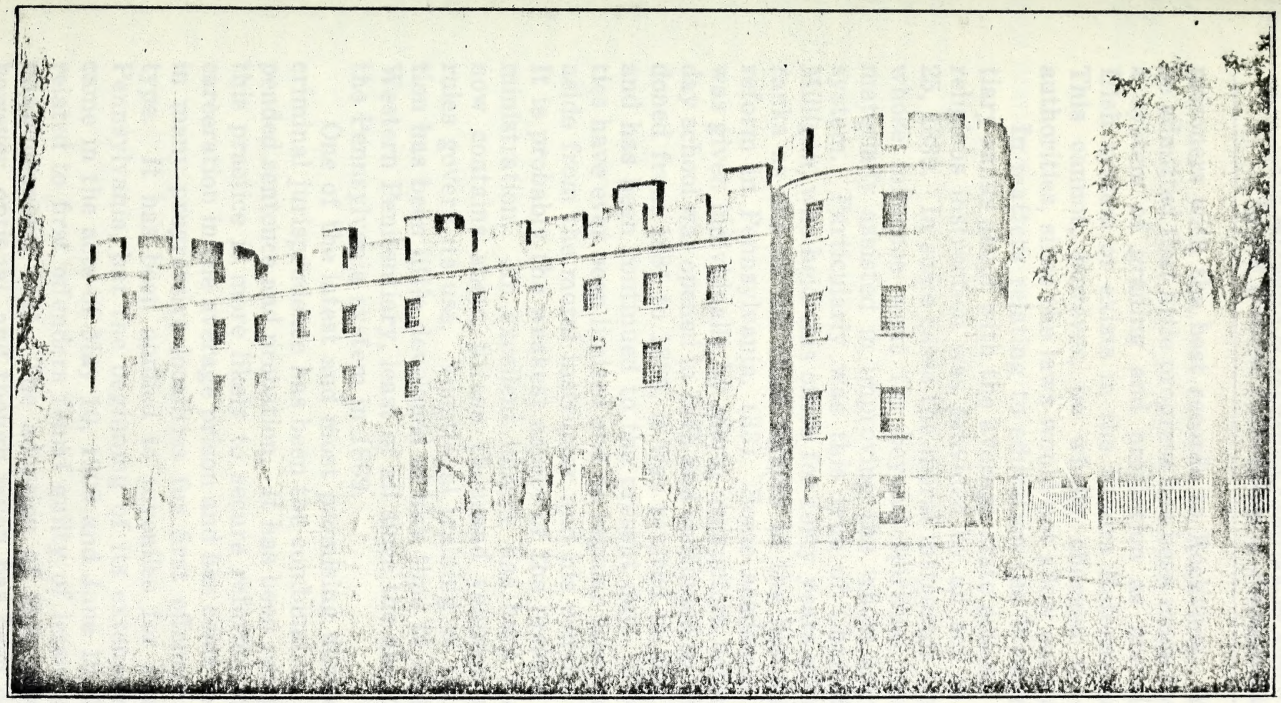
2. Chief Phases of Progress in Prison Administration and Discipline.

One of the first important aspects of prison reform which has characterized the nineteenth century was the commutation of sentence for good behavior. As a practical proposition applied to adult convicts this procedure was initiated about 1840 by Alexander Maconochie at Norfolk Island, Australia, an English penal colony. It was introduced into the Irish prison system by Crofton about a decade later and came into the United States during the "sixties". The first Pennsylvania law providing for commutation of sentence for good behavior was a product of the agitation conducted by the *Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons* and was put upon the statue books in 1861. It was declared unconstitutional and was replaced by a more satisfactory law in 1869. This was applied until the act of May 11, 1901 supplemented all earlier legislation on this subject. Since 1869 then it has been possible for convicts to gain a substantial reduction of their sentence by good behavior. (30)

The indeterminate sentence was apparently originated by the New York and Philadelphia Houses of Refuge in 1824-5. Its application to adults came much later. Archbishop Whatley and a Scotch philosopher, George Combe, set forth the notion just after 1830 and it was taken up and supported in England by Frederick and Matthew Davenport Hill. It was also adopted by Crofton in his Irish system, and was brought into America as a part of the Elmira Reformatory system in the "seventies". With it was almost

inseparably associated the parole system or "conditional release", which had been strongly sponsored in the "forties" by Bonneville de Marsangy. In Pennsylvania the indeterminate sentence and parole were first applied to adult offenders in the Huntington Reformatory in 1887. For many years Chaplain Milligan of the Western Penitentiary urged their adoption in the state penitentiaries. They were introduced into the state penitentiaries by an act of May 10, 1909. (31) The law covering the indeterminte sentence provided that the maximum sentence should be the legal maximum for the crime and the minimum the legal minimum or, if no minimum existed, not more than one fourth of the maximum. This act, as well as the principle of the indeterminate sentence, was practically abrogated by the amendment of June 19, 1911, which allowed the judges to fix a minimum sentence equal to anything up to one day less than the maximum. (32) The parole system, while effectively administered as far as limited officials for this purpose has allowed, has been crippled because of lack of adequate supervision of those out on parole.

The segregation, separation and classification of prisoners has made some progress in Pennsylvania. In 1786 there was no attempt to separate for treatment or incarceration young from old, first offenders from hardened criminals, males from females, the insane and idiotic from those of fairly normal mentality. With the provision of Houses of Refuge after 1825 and the Huntington Reformatory after 1887 it was possible to some degree to separate the young and first offenders from the old and the confirmed criminals. Provision has been made since 1790 for separating male from female prisoners. A state hospital for the criminal insane was created by the act of April 14, 1845, and after 1874 it became possible to transfer to it insane inmates of the Western Penitentiary. An institution for the idiotic and feeble-minded was opened at Polk in 1897. Within the Western Penitentiary itself some progress has been made in grading the convicts according to behavior. This plan was introduced by Warden Wright and Chaplain Milligan about 1870 and has been retained with but few modifications since that time. An additional method has been brought into existence by Warden Francies in transferring the



WESTERN PENITENTIARY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Removed In 1886

prisoners with the best records to Rockview. Yet it must be admitted that little progress has been made towards such a system of grading and promotion as prevailed in the Irish system or exists in the Elmira Reformatory system. This cannot, however, be wholly charged to the prison authorities, since the laws would not allow such a step.

In matters relating to education the Western Penitentiary ranks about with the average state prison. Moral and religious instruction was provided by an act of November 25, 1839. In some cases the moral instructor was a person whose influence went far beyond spiritual ministry and materially assisted in improving the whole administrative system. Particularly was this true of Chaplain John L. Milligan, who held this office for forty years after 1869 and ranks as one of the chief figures in the history of prison reform in Pennsylvania. (33) Some academic instruction was given individually by moral instructors before 1873. A day school was opened in 1873 and continued to 1881. Abandoned from 1881 to 1886, it was revived in the latter year and has been continued to the present day. Yet its facilities have ever been limited and no regular teachers provided aside from the moral instructor and his convict assistants. It is probably the weakest aspect of the present prison administration. An excellent library has been built up. It now contains about fifteen thousand volumes and liberal rules govern its use. Vocational training or trade instruction has been little developed at any time in history of the Western Penitentiary, least of all since the abandonment of the Pennsylvania system in 1869.

One of the latest and most promising developments in criminal jurisprudence has been the combination of the suspended sentence and probation. It has been recognized that this practice is more likely to secure reformation than incarceration in the average prison and has come to be applied in many progressive localities for first offences of a mild type. It has been applied to juveniles for some time in Pennsylvania, but the beginning of its extension to adults came in the acts of May 10, 1909 and June 19, 1911 which related to first offenders found guilty of lesser crimes and misdemeanors. (34) The adoption of this new act was, however, optional, and though much has been done to put

it into operation in the Municipal Court of Philadelphia little or nothing has been done in the western part of the state.

V.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE WESTERN PENITENTIARY

It seems that the Quakers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey were the first to suggest imprisonment at hard labor as a punishment for crime. This they did as early as 1681-4, but their theories were not applied until a century later. The first attempt to put prisoners to work in Pennsylvania came as a result of the law of 1786 ordering that they be put at hard labor "publicly and disgracefully imprisoned," but this proved a failure. Then after 1790 came the first attempts at prison industries, they being fairly successful until the overcrowding of the Walnut Street Jail after 1810. The Western Penitentiary was opened in 1826 without any provision for the labor of prisoners. Not until about 1832 were any significant prison industries established. Down to 1870 the chief industries were weaving, shoemaking and cane-seating of chairs. After 1870 work was allowed in congregate shops and no longer restricted to cells. Shoemaking was the most productive industry from 1870 to 1887. During this period there was also a considerable development of the chain and heavy hardware industry. After 1887 the making of heavy mats became the most profitable industry, and the manufacture of hosiery and brooms were the other significant methods of employment. Since 1914 construction work and farming at Rockview have been important as a means of employing a part of the idle body of prisoners from the Riverside institution. In the future farming will probably become the chief industry of the inmates of the new penitentiary. (35)

The methods of administering the industries of the Western Penitentiary have varied with the general progress of penology and outside industry and with the effect of legislation upon the subject of prison labor. The period from 1832 to 1870 was characterized by the state or public-account system in which the direction of the industries was kept by the prison authorities and the products sold by them

in the open market. Some little contract convict labor, administered according to the piece-price system, also existed during this period. After 1870 there was a very complete adoption of an extreme form of the contract system, according to which the convicts were leased to contractors who furnished the raw material, conducted the industrial activities, and sold the products. In 1883 an act was passed which forbade contract convict labor in Pennsylvania, and there was a return to the public-account system until 1915. In that year a law directed the establishment of the state-use system. The Western Penitentiary has, thus, exemplified in its industrial history all of the chief systems of conducting prison labor operations. (36)

The Western Penitentiary, while normally producing a larger revenue than the Eastern Penitentiary, has been far from a gainful institution. In the "forties" and early "fifties" it earned enough to meet the cost of maintenance, exclusive of salaries. In the year 1864 the income was approximately equal to both maintenance and salaries of officials. Since that time it never earned enough to meet even maintenance charges, and after the restrictive legislation of 1883-97 has become progressively more of a burden to the state. In 1916, for example, it created an economic burden of about three hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Down to 1883 the state interfered but little with prison industry. In that year, due to the opposition of labor organizations to contract convict labor, it passed acts forbidding contract convict labor and ordering the branding of convict made goods. In 1891 the eight hour day was prescribed for prison labor. In 1897 came the most severe restriction of all in the law which forbade all types of machinery other than those operated by foot-power, and allowed the employment of not more than twenty per cent of the total number of inmates. In 1915 the state-use system was introduced and a prison labor commission created to centralize and take charge of the industrial operations of the state penitentiaries and the Huntington Reformatory. (37) Because this law was not supplemented by one making it compulsory for state institutions to buy these prison made products when in need of such commodities, it has been very difficult to get the new system on a satisfactory working

basis. Whatever may be said for it from other standpoints this restrictive legislation has been a severe handicap to the economic and disciplinary life of the Western Penitentiary, and Pennsylvania, for the last twenty-five years, has had far more idle convicts in proportion to the total convict population than any other state in the union. This has reacted to make more difficult reformation and discipline in the penitentiaries.

VI.

CONCLUSION

Even this brief and summary survey of the evolution of penology in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania is sufficient to demonstrate that it well exemplifies the general tendencies in the history of American penal institutions during the last century. With the possible exception of the New Jersey state penitentiary at Trenton, it is unlikely that any other institution in America so well recapitulates American penal history. The Western Penitentiary was the first real state prison to adopt in a thorough manner the system of solitary confinement for all its inmates. It later operated for years under the Auburn system of congregate labor, and made some progress towards adopting the Irish system of grading prisoners and promoting them on the basis of behavior. Finally, it has now begun experimentation with what is regarded by many as the solution of our penal problem, namely, the location of penal institutions on great farming tracts where open air life will be possible and real liberties granted in such a degree as the conduct of the prisoners makes them possible.

The Western Penitentiary has also experimented with all of the leading types of prison industry, both as to the nature and technique of the industrial operations and the systems of labor according to which they were conducted. Starting with the handicraft-individual-cell methods, a change was made into the shop-machine system, and now progress is being made along the line of shifting to agricultural pursuits. The public-account system of controlling the labor was given up when the shop system was introduced in 1869 and the contract method was introduced until it was

outlawed by the act of 1883. The public-account system was revived and remained in vogue until 1915 when the state-use and public-works-and-ways systems were prescribed. Finally, Pennsylvania has experienced even to a degree greater than any other state the effect of the opposition of labor organizations to contract convict labor in the shape of restrictive legislation affecting prison industries.

In greater or less degree the Western Penitentiary has illustrated nearly every progressive addition to penological theory and practice in the last hundred years, and is just now ready to take its place with the most advanced institutions of the present day in one of the most far-reaching experiments of penological history—that being inaugurated by Warden Francies at Rockview.

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35. The data upon which these descriptive generalizations are based have been secured from the official reports of the inspectors.
36. The industrial operations are described in detail in the regular reports of the inspectors.
37. *Laws of the General Assembly*, 1883, p. 112; 1891, p. 100; 1897, pp. 170-71; 1915, p. 656.

FOREFATHERS

By

EDMUND BLUNDEN

Here they went with smock and crook,
  Toiled in the sun, lolled in the shade,
Here they muddled out the brook
  And here their hatchet cleared the glade:
Harvest-supper woke their wit,
Huntsman's moon their wooings lit.

From this church they led their brides;
  From this church themselves were led
Shoulder-high; on these waysides
  Sat to take their beer and bread:
Names are gone—what men they were
These their cottages declare.

Names are vanished, save the few
  In the old brown Bible scrawled,
These were men of pith and thew,
  Whom the city never called;
Scarce could read or hold a quill:
Built the barn, the forge, the mill.

On the green they watched their sons
  Playing till too dark to see,
As their fathers watched them once,
  As my father once watched me;
While the bat and beetle flew
On the warm air webbed with dew.

Unrecorded, unrenowned,
  Men from whom my ways begin,
Here I know you by your ground,
  But I know you not within—
All is mist, and there survives
Not one moment of your lives.

Like the bee that now is blown
  Honey-heavy on my hand
From the toppling tansy-throne
  In the green tempestuous land—
I'm a-Maying now, nor know
Who made honey long ago.

—*Oxford Poetry.*

SOME ASPECTS OF PITTSBURGH'S INDUSTRIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD WAR*

By

FRANK R. MURDOCK

American energy, especially in the domain of industry and commerce, is proverbial. Yet when the World War broke out in 1914, perhaps no one realized to what extent American energy and resourcefulness would be a determining factor in bringing about the victory. Our country was far from the scene of the conflict, and on first thought our place seemed to be that of spectators rather than participants. But before many months had passed demands were being made on us for all sorts of supplies, especially munitions of war.

In the light of subsequent events it seems most fortunate that some of our great industrial organizations, especially in the Pittsburgh district, should have begun the manufacture of munitions during the early days of the war, for the plants erected, the equipment installed, and the experience gained were of incalculable assistance to our own government when at last we accepted the gauge of battle.

The first order to be received in this district for munitions was on December 30, 1914, by the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company from the British Government for 3,000,000 shell. (1) This company had not one man in its organization who had ever worked on or handled the making of shells. It was found that only two per cent. of their tools in use at the time could be utilized in the making of these shells. The manufacture of a shell requires 128 manufacturing operations and 51 shop inspections. For the inspection of the body of the shell 65 gauges are used, while 170 gauges are required for the inspection of the fuse cap of the shell. In spite of the fact that all these gauges had to be manufactured, and new machinery installed for the making of the shells, this company delivered shells to the

*Read by the author, a student in the University of Pittsburgh before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on May 31, 1921.

British Government within 45 days after receiving the order (2). This same company built a plant at Twenty-eighth street in 29 days for the manufacture of eight-inch howitzer shells for the British Government, and within three months a maximum production of 5,000 shells a day was attained at this plant (3). A rigid test was applied to the shell before being accepted by the purchasing government. In the case of shrapnel, the time fuse was set at zero and fired at a velocity of 1,800 feet per second. At this setting the shrapnel should explode 50 feet from the gun. It meant the mechanism must react within 83/10,000 of a second. The shells were divided into lots of 2,000 and five fuses from each lot tested. The Westinghouse Company manufactured 1,250,000 of these shells and not one lot was rejected (4). The Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company alone manufactured 5,058,000 shells for the British Army during the war (5).

The British Government placed in this district an order for 3,000 15-inch shells for their navy (6). Each of these shells weighed 1,400 pounds and measured 52 inches in length, being almost as long as the average man is tall. The British Government also received from this district 409,000,000 one-half-inch bullets and 1,250,000 18-pounder cartridge cases (7). It required 14,150 railroad cars to haul this shipment, which for the most part was manufactured by the Westinghouse Air Brake Company at Wilmerding (8). These cars were equivalent to a single train more than 100 miles long. In addition many carloads of forgings were forged and shipped from this district to be finished in various other districts for the British Army, until as General Maurice stated, "Pittsburgh steel was everywhere along the battle front." Shells and ordnance supplies of every description that had their origin in the Pittsburgh mills arrived by the shiploads and gradually permitted the German preponderance in materials to be overcome (9).

Nor was the contribution of this district confined to the British Army prior to our entrance into the war. Two hundred thousand cartridge cases as well as 10,000 freight car brake equipments and 300 locomotive brake equipments were manufactured for the Russian Government. One hundred fifty thousand freight car brake equipments and 1,475

locomotive brake equipments as well as great numbers of carloads of rough forgings for shells and guns were sent from this district for the French Government (10).

A very important contribution was a rifle grenade developed by the Westinghouse Engineers and accepted by the French and Italian Governments. Orders were received for 8,500,000 of these grenades to be supplied at the rate of 25,000 per day. Again the Westinghouse Company was required to build new buildings and install new machinery to handle this great order, but within three months from the time ground was broken for the first new building, 88,000 grenades per day were being shipped for the use of the armies (11).

One can only grasp the stupendous amount of manufactured products contributed by this district to the Allied Armies by noting that the international balance sheet shows $5.00 of Allied munitions purchased in this district to every $1.00 spent by the American Army in purchases abroad (12).

The contributions of these great amounts of munitions and war supplies to the Allied Armies, however, was the means of preparing this district for the prodigious task of producing the immense quantities of supplies needed by our own Government, when it decided in April, 1917, to cast its lot with those of the Allied powers in the cause of Right and Justice. This district became known as the Arsenal of the world. In it were located 250 great war plants, employing more than 500,000 men and women, constantly engaged day and night, in many instances seven days a week, in turning out war supplies for the United States and its Allies (13). It was the basic district because of its production of steel and of forgings. Eighty per cent. of all munition steel used by the United States Army came from the Pittsburgh mills (14). This district contributed about 100 carloads a day of unfinished forgings to other districts to be finished for our army. Seventy-five per cent. of the coal consumed by the munition makers came from the mines of this district and vicinity (15). To realize the importance of this district in the carrying on of the war, we must realize that this was a combat of peoples and of their shops, with the accent on the shops. As an illustration, in reducing the St. Mihiel salient, a comparatively small undertaking,

the American forces expended 150 rounds of artillery ammunition to every round that the Union forces had expended in the battle of Chickamauga in the Civil War (16).

Our principal task when we entered the war was to combat the submarine menace. Consequently the Navy and the Emergency Fleet construction programs were to have first call on labor, materials, machine capacity and railroad transportation (17) . The district successfully constructed propelling machinery for 350 merchant vessels and for 36 destroyers. In addition the Mesta Machine Company manufactured 700 tons of shafting each month for the Navy and 1,200 tons of shafting each month for the Shipping Board (18).

One of the very first contributions of the district after our entry into the war was the fruit of experiments begun in gas mask construction in April, 1917, by Mr. A. S. Fieldner, chief chemist of the local station of the United States Bureau of Mines, and the gas mask finally used by our forces was developed at the old Arsenal. The first 20,000 masks sent abroad were tested here after which the testing plant was removed to Washington, D. C. (19) The chemical inspection, however, of all ordnance material for all the districts in the United States was done in the Pittsburgh district (20).

The immense production required of the district placed a terrific strain on the power plants. Nevertheless, the Pittsburgh district ran continually during the entire war on a 50 per cent. overload on its power plants and got by (21).

Perhaps the proverbial American energy in industry is shown at its best in the contribution made by this district of optical glass during the war. Practically no optical glass had been made in this country prior to the war, it having all been imported from Germany. Yet many quantities had to be produced for the guns of our Army and Navy and the Government assigned the entire program to the Pittsburgh district. The Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, although having manufactured none prior to the war, reached in October, 1918, a total production of 65,000 pounds or enough to supply the needs of our entire Army and entire Navy. The manufacture of the panoramic sights was assigned to the John A. Brashear Company in April, 1918. In May,

1918, this company had completed five sets, but in October, 1918, 1,346 sets were completed. The manufacture of the sights for the 37 mm. guns was assigned to the Scientific Materials Company and although the entire program fell to it, it had the sights ready in plenty of time to meet the guns (22).

The zeal for winning the war infested the hearts of every man and woman in the district. In no instance is it shown more clearly than in the performance of the men who daily extract the energy from the bowels of the earth, when they brought forth in this district 20,000,000 more tons of coal in 1918 than was produced in 1917 (23).

The district also contributed to the material comfort and welfare of the men serving with the colors; for the Aluminum Company of America produced 3,000,000 meat tins and bacon cans for the United States Army (24), and over 1,000 carloads per month of electrical fans, ranges, wireless telegraph and telephone instruments, portable dynamos for the trenches and submarines, feet warmers for the men in the crows nests of the ships and numerous other electrical appliances left the Westinghouse plants to aid the men who were carrying the brunt of the burden (25).

Pittsburgh helped to keep the main arteries of the country from becoming clogged; for it contributed 27,400 freight car brake equipments, 595 locomotive brake equipments and 2,100 locomotive stoker apparatus to the United States Railroad Administration (26).

A special grenade discharger for the American Army was designed by the Westinghouse Engineers and accepted by the American Government. In addition to this company's great orders with the Allied Governments they accepted a contract for 529,655 of these grenades. This company also built for the Government a 90,000-horsepower turbine, the largest ever built (27).

The colossal contribution of the Pittsburgh district to the great war, the contribution which overshadowed all others and which alone finally gave to the Allied Powers a preponderant advantage in munitions over the Central Powers, was the great number of recuperator forgings, heavy gun forgings, howitzer forgings and heavy shell forgings, which the industrial plants were able to produce for our Govern-

ment as well as for the Allied Governments during the latter part of 1917 and all of 1918. The war tonnage out of this district was from five to ten times as great as that of any other industrial center of its size in the world (28).

The heaviest ordnance used by the armies were the recoil recuperators for the great heavy guns. Ten thousand, five hundred thirty-four of these were made and rough-machined by this district (29). To produce this great amount, it meant that the greatest plants of the whole district were devoted solely and practically entirely to this program . Three thousand, eight hundred thirty-five forgings of the famous 75 mm. gun were produced for the American Army and 4,255 forgings of the 155 mm. Howitzer gun were forwarded from the district. In the manufacture of these forgings the Mesta Machine Company holds the wonderful record of producing 2,468 forgings in one month, the highest one day's record being 86 forgings (30). The work of producing the heavier forgings was assigned to the great plant of the Carnegie Steel Company and they responded by producing 1,734 forgings for the 155 mm. gun and 710 forgings for the 240 mm. Howitzer, a record not excelled by any other plant in the world during the war (31). During the manufacture of these forgings, the district contributed a distinct discovery to science, in the development of a new forging process whereby the presses worked the metal in the same direction from which the strain of firing would come. The forgings manufactured by the new process passed more than 99 per cent. inspection as against an average of 93 per cent. for the standard process. The new process was adopted by both Great Britain and France (32).

The large heavy gun forgings produced by the district were assigned for the most part to the Edgewater Steel Company and the Heppenstall Forge and Knife Company. The art of manufacturing guns was new to both of these companies, yet the Edgewater Steel Company produced a total of 180 gun forgings of the 155 mm. type, 1,500 gun breech rings for the same type of gun and 75 gun forgings for the 240 mm. Howitzer type of gun as well as producing 30 miscellaneous gun forgings. This company finally reached the remarkable achievement of turning out one forging each

day for each type of gun (33). The Heppenstall Company worked on forgings for the 4.7-inch gun and also on forgings for the 3-inch anti-aircraft gun, producing 80 sets of each type prior to the ending of the war. They, too, reached the proficiency of turning out one set of each type gun per day (34). The National Tube Company also contributed to the production by adding to the total some 600 sets of the smaller Livens gun each day until the end of the war (35).

Being so impressed with the efficiency produced by the district, the Government always called upon Pittsburgh for what it needed in emergencies. Accordingly the orders were placed here for the armor plate required for the carriages and limbers of the guns. The program was distributed among four steel mills, none of which had ever had any experience at this branch of steel production. But responding with the characteristic zeal which permeated the entire city, they became very proficient and one company alone, the Universal Rolling Mill Company, developed a capacity to take care of the entire program (36).

Once more the Government called on the district in an emergency. It placed here its order for the manufacture of tank plates. The specifications called for an armor plate that could not be pierced by a machine gun at fifty yards. The order was assigned to the Carbon Steel Company and tests were made on the roof of this Company's plant where a machine gun and target were set up. This was in August, 1918. The schedule called for 700 complete sets in October, 1918, but by the date set for the completion of the order, 750 sets were actually produced (37).

But guns would make little impression on the enemy without shells to be fired from them, and in no other section of the whole world was this fact more appreciated than in the Pittsburgh district, for in addition to its almost unbelievable contribution of heavy guns and forgings, this district still was able to manufacture three and one-half million shells for the United States Army and Navy (38). These shells ranged in size from the large 240 mm. high explosive shells to the 4.7-inch high explosive shells. The greatest number of shells produced in the district was for the 155 mm. howitzer, over 600,000 of these high explosive shells being manufactured (39). The Standard Steel Car Com-

pany and the Standard Sanitary Manufacturing Company reached a production of 4,500 of these shells each day. The largest monthly output was by the Valley Forging Company which produced 200,000 of the 75 mm. shells in October, 1918 (40). The National Tube Company and the Allegheny Steel Company vied with each other in producing during the month of October, 1918, 160,000 shells for the 4.7-inch gun at each plant (41). Three companies produced 80,000 each during the month of October, 1918, of the large 155 mm. gun shells, while the Carnegie Steel Company set a new world record in producing during the month of October, 1918, over 100,000 shells ranging in size from eight inches to fourteen inches (42). Certainly this district did its very best during the month of October, 1918, to answer the German threat of might.

Nor do these colossal figures represent the total contribution of this district during these trying months. The finishing plants in the other districts were all kept busy from the unfinished products sent forward from Pittsburgh and in addition the French Government received from 50 to 100 Pittsburgh-machined 75 mm. recuperator forgings each month (43). The Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company in addition to the great orders they were working on, accepted another contract for 10,000 LeChrone motors from the French Government. The first part of the order, calling for 4,000 motors, they were working on at the end of the war (44).

Great as were these contributions, they nevertheless did not as yet represent what this district felt itself capable of producing, for the Government planned to erect the greatest gun and shell producing plant in the world on Neville Island, where it was planned to manufacture 14-inch guns at the rate of 15 per month, and 14-inch and 16-inch shells at the rate of 40,000 per month. There had been spent $12,000,000.00 on this project by the end of the war, and although no guns and no shells were produced, it was perhaps the best investment any Government ever made because of its psychological effect on the enemy (45).

The contribution of this district to the United States Government and to the Governments associated with us in the war, if converted into money values, would amount

to a stupendous sum. The total figures are not available, but the United States Government had outstanding in the district on November 1, 1918, contracts calling for disbursements of $215,405,000.00 (46), and the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company alone estimate the value of their contracts with all governments during the war at the colossal sum of $1,475,000,000.00 (47).

Only some aspects of Pittsburgh's industrial contribution to the World War have been touched upon in this article. Yet even this has been sufficient to give to us some idea of the stupendous effort this district put forth to help in the winning of the war. Pittsburgh, from the time that coal and iron began to be brought forth from its hills, has been known as the Steel City. There is probably no place on the civilized portions of the earth but what has felt and has been essentially helped with the materials produced by the toils of this city. When the Allied Nations found themselves fighting with their backs to the wall, in order to uphold the state of civilization they had spent years in acquiring, it was but natural that they should turn with an appeal to the city that had contributed so materially in the building up of that civilization. That the city responded to this appeal with the zeal of patriotic service that enabled it to sweep aside all obstructions, was only what should have been expected by everyone familiar with its past achievements. But the development of this service brought to the fore potentialities not dreamed of. It enabled our own Government, when we entered the war, to make of this district the nave of the ellipse from which radiated great, steady streams of supplies to its periphery on the battle fields of Europe, thus enabling the fate of civilization to be decided for Right and Justice. This was perhaps a feat not paralleled in history, and it will always reflect everlasting honor to the great steel producing city of Pittsburgh.

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SENATOR EDGAR A. COWAN
1861—1867

By
B. F. PERSHING*

When the attack on Fort Sumter precipitated the Civil War, President Lincoln issued two calls for men to aid in suppressing the Rebellion. The one was for 75,000 men to serve for three months in the army of the United States. The other was a summons to the Thirty-Seventh Congress to assemble in special session on July 4th, 1861.

It is with the career of one of the Senators from Pennsylvania in this Congress and in the Thirty-Eighth and Thirty-Ninth which his senatorial term covered that this paper is concerned. However, before proceeding with the study of the official career of Senator Edgar A. Cowan a glance at the personel of this body will not be amiss.

There were to be found in the Congress of the United States during the Civil War no men who equaled the leaders in the previous years. Yet there were many men of worth and ability who were sincerely devoted to the Union and served it as best they knew how. Of those in the Senate whose fame was already national in 1861 might be mentioned W. P. Fessenden of Maine, Charles Summer of Massachusetts, J. P. Hale of New Hampshire, Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, Zachariah Chandler of Michigan and Jacob Collamer of Vermont. Of those present for the first time but who were destined to rank high among the leaders of their day were John Sherman of Ohio, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, and Lyman Trumbull of Illinois. In the House of Representatives were Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, Roscoe Conkling and Elbridge Spaulding of New York, Valentine B. Horton, George H. Pendleton and Clement L. Vallindigham of Ohio and Justin P. Morrill of Vermont. From Pennsylvania Thaddeus Stevens was the most important. He was among the most eminent

*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, on May 31, 1921.

of the men in the Lower House and his name will be mentioned whenever Reconstruction is discussed. Besides Stevens the only Pennsylvanian of note was Glusha A. Grow of Glenwood who served in the Thirty-Seventh Congress and was later returned to the Fifty-Third. In July, 1861, he was honored by being elected Speaker of the House, receiving 99 out of 159 votes on the first ballot.

Edgar A. Cowan was born in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, on September 19, 1815. He was of Scotch-Irish descent. His parents were poor so that he had to earn the money to secure an education. A part of his youth was spent in Allegheny County as a carpenter. In time he saved enough money to enter Greensburg Academy. After completing his course in this preparatory school he entered Franklin College at New Athens, Ohio. From this institution he was graduated in 1839. This same college conferred upon him the degree of L.L. D. in 1871. He now took up the study of law and was admitted to the bar in Westmoreland County in 1842. In his chosen profession he was very successful and soon made a reputation for himself. As to politics he was originally a Jackson Democrat but joined with the Whigs in 1840. In 1856 he supported Fremont as he held that Fillmore represented Knownothingism and Buchanan indifferentism to slavery in the territories. The Republicans of this state selected him as a Presidential elector in 1860.

Up to this time he had held no public office. But when the term of William Bigler in the United States Senate was about to expire he became a candidate for his seat. The contest was a spirited one and the result was not certain until the Republicans in the State Legislature had met in their caucus. The only dangerous opponent of Cowan was David Wilmot. He had the backing of many of the chief politicians. Yet to many of the Republicans he was too extreme. His record on the tariff and on slavery lost him many votes from conservative legislators who personally favored him. Cowan who was by no means so well known was believed to be conservative and therefore safe at a time when the people of the state wished to show the South that they did not favor extreme measures. On the first ballot in the caucus Cowan received 26 and Wilmot 23 votes with the

others scattered. A majority was not given any man until the sixth when the vote stood 58 for Cowan and 38 for Wilmot. When the Senate and House met in joint session to elect a Senator, Cowan was given 98 votes. The Democrats cast theirs, 35 in all, for Henry Foster. The disappointment of Wilmot in not being elected at this time was soon healed. The other Senator from the state, Simon Cameron, was chosen as Secretary of War, by Lincoln. Wilmot was elected to fill his unexpired term. Two years later he himself resigned when given a seat in the United States Court of Claims. Charles R. Buckalew was elected to succeed Wilmot.

The selection of Cowan was acceptable to the Republicans. The comments of several of the newspapers will illustrate this and also will describe the man. The *Philadelphia Press* while speaking of him "as a gentleman as yet unknown to fame" yet described him in these words: "He is a thorough Latin, French, Greek and German scholar. He is a great student acquainting himself with nearly all the modern sciences and possessed of one of the finest private geological, botanical and zoological cabinets in Western Pennsylvania. As a lawyer, Mr. Cowan stands in the very first rank of his profession and as an orator he has few equals in the state." The *Pittsburgh Gazette* asserted that Bigler the weak-kneed doughface had gone to the wall and his place had fallen to a man. Of Cowan it was said: "He is a man of middle age, gigantic in stature and also gigantic in intellect, untried in public life but possessing all the elements of a true statesman, of gentlemanly address and popular manners, well-rooted and grounded in the Republican faith and with backbone enough for a dozen senators." The *Pittsburgh Post* quotes a Washington paper as speaking of him as "entirely a self-made man having struggled alone, aided only by his commanding talent, indomitable will, untiring industry and persevering energy to the first rank among the lawyers of the state." This same tone of commendation pervaded most of the comments made in January, 1861.

By the time that Cowan had assumed the duties of his office the war had begun. In view of this he laid down five rules to guide him in the performance of his task. They were as follows:

1. The North must not violate the Constitution in co-

ercing the South to remain in the Union.

2. The Democratic Party in the Free States and the Union men in the Border States must be conciliated.

3. Congress should confine itself to raising revenues and an army.

4. The war should be waged according to the rules of civilized warfare.

5. The war was to suppress a rebellion and not to conquer the Southern States.

To these rules he steadfastly held though the course in which they led him was such as to render him extremely unpopular. Few men in our Congress at any time have so completely lost the confidence and support of those who elected them. This gives an interest to the study of his congressional life. His name is not attached to any of the prominent legislation of his time.

When Congress opened in July he was given a place on the Judiciary Committee, on that of Indian Affairs and on that of Patents and the Patent Office. Later he was appointed to fill a vacancy on the Finance Committee and withdrew from that on Indian Affairs. On the Finance Committee he served until the last session of which he was a member. Throughout his whole term in the Senate he was a member of that on Patents and the Patent Office, part of the time as chairman. At other times he served on those of Agriculture, Enrolled Bills and Territories.

During the special session of July and August, 1861, he voted for the main bills which were passed. It was not until the second session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress that he took the stand which cost him the support of his constituents. One of the Senators from Indiana, Jesse D. Bright, was charged with having written on March 1, 1861, a letter to Jefferson Davis, already President of the Confederate States, introducing a friend who desired to sell an invention improving firearms. A resolution was presented in the Senate declaring Bright guilty of treason. It was held, therefore, that he should be expelled from the Senate. The debate was very violent. A terrific outcry was raised against "the traitor Bright" as he was called. One of his most bitter antagonists was Andrew Johnson. Another was David Wilmot. In such an hour Cowan dared to defend Bright. He

did this because he felt that at that time Bright belonged to a party which did not believe in secession but held that coercion would only more completely sever the Union. He insisted that the accused did not have a fair trial. He argued that from the technical, legal standpoint Bright was not guilty of treason even if he did write the letter. That this was true was conceded by Wilmot during a clash between Cowan and himself. Those favoring expulsion took the stand that while the evidence for treason was not such as would lead them to return a verdict of guilty if they were sitting as jurors, it was such as to show that Bright was not a fit man to be a member of the United States Senate. Of the defenders of Bright no one was more zealous than Cowan. When the final vote was taken on February 5, 1862, Bright was expelled by a vote of 32 to 14.

The assumption of this position by Cowan was fatal to his popularity in Pennsylvania. As the session preceded the conviction steadily gained ground that he was not a friend of the Union. This led Ben Wade on one occasion to term him "the watchdog of slavery." Denunciation of him by the people of the state now became as strong as their praise had been when he was elected. In the spring of 1862 an Abolition convention in Allegheny County declared that he did not represent the sentiment of the loyal people of Pennsylvania. When the Republicans of this county met in June of that year they severely censured him in their resolutions. The course of Wilmot was highly commended; that of Cowan, just as unscathingly condemned. The *Pittsburgh Gazette*, formerly his ardent friend, in referring to this convention said: "Among the members of the large convention of Republicans which met in this city on Monday, there was not a man that had a word to say in defense of Edgar A. Cowan in the Senate of the United States. There was a universal feeling of execration against the ingrate who had so basely deceived his political friends who had elevated him to a seat so much beyond his capacity or deserts."

His attitude on the Confiscation Bill had likewise displeased his constituents and helped to bring on this unusual reversal of feeling. This bill provided for the confiscation of the property of all persons in rebellion. Cowan opposed it on

the ground that it was unconstitutional and would make the South more hostile. He also held that it was contrary to the law of nations which does not regard property taken on land as lawful prize in war. In the course of the debate on March 4th, 1862 he said: Pass this bill and all that is left of the Constitution is not worth much. Certainly it is not worth a terrible and destructive war such as we now wage for it." Again, on June 27th he said: "When I show that it is contrary to the law of nations I show that it is unconstitutional because there is nothing plainer in the world than that the Congress of the United States, the government of the United States, the whole people of the United States everywhere are bound by the law of nations and if we expect to have national rights and enjoy national privileges in the great family of nations, nothing can be clearer than that we are bound by the law of nations. " When the bill was passed on July 12th, 1862, under the pressure of the military reverses around Richmond, Cowan voted, "nay".

Without further illustrations of his stand on particular bills we may show the manner in which the impression of his attitude towards slavery and the South which his defense of Bright gave clung to him until the end of his term, by an incident which occurred during the debate on the Freedman's Bureau Bill. In the course of the discussion Cowan declared that he was a friend of the negro. This drew from Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts the cutting rejoiner: "The Senator from Pennsylvania tells us that he is a friend of the negro. What sir, he a friend of the negro! Why, sir, there has hardly been a proposition before the Senate of the United States for the last five years leading to the emancipation of the negro and the protection of his rights that the Senator from Pennsylvania has not sturdily opposed. He has hardly ever uttered a word on this floor the tendency of which was not to degrade and to belittle a weak and struggling race. He comes here today and thanks God that they are free, when his vote and his voice for five years with hardly an exception have been against making them free. He thanks God, sir, that your work and mine, our work which has saved a country and emancipated a race is secured; while from the word 'go' to this time, he has made himself the champion of

'how not to do it.'" If there be a man on the floor of the American Senate who has tortured the Constitution of the country to find powers to arrest the voice of this nation which was endeavoring to make a race free, the Senator from Pennsylvania is the man." These were strong words yet underneath them there was much truth.

Of interest is his stand on the financial measures which were passed to help put down the Rebellion. Here our conviction is that he was right in some of his contentions notably on the Legal-Tender Acts. With the bills authorizing loans, increasing taxes, imposing internal revenue duties and raising the tariff he was in accord with the administration. But he was not on the bills to issue legal-tenders and the National Bank Act. The first bill to authorize the issue of $150,000,000.00 in United States notes or greenbacks as they were called was introduced in January, 1862. As passed by the House it provided that these notes should be legal-tender for all debts public and private within the United States. Thaddeus Stevens as the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the House had championed the bill with all his ability. In the Senate the bill was amended so as to provide that interest on bonds and notes should be paid in coin. Even as thus amended Cowan would not vote for it. His argument was that it was unconstitutional since the Constitution prohibits the making of anything except gold and silver legal-tender. He also pointed to the disastrous experience with Continental money during the American Revolution and that of the French Revolution with assignats. He closed his address on the amendment which proposed to strike out the legal-tender clause with these words: "The Constitution is the charter of our liberties and the covenant of the Union which we are all so anxious to defend. I will stand upon it to the last despite every necessity however imperious and if the time ever comes when we must all go down together, I say, let it come; but let us go down as honest men with our faith inviolate and in that spirit I hope the amendment to the bill will prevail." The bill, however, with the legal-tender clause remaining passed and became law on February 25th, 1862. The work of Cowan on this occasion was such as to lead the *Philadelphia Press* which supported the measure

to compare him favorably with Senator Fessenden of Maine. He was said to have "distinguished himself by the acumen, logic and force of his expression and style." In June another issue was asked for by Secretary of the Treasury, Chase. Again Cowan opposed it but the issue was made. He also did not favor the National Bank bill which became law on February 25, 1863. One source of his opposition was the fact that it gave the banks the opportunity to secure double interest on the money invested in the government bonds which they held as security for the notes issued by them. On the one hand, they received interest from the government on these bonds and on the other, they received interest on the notes which were secured by these bonds. This was a common ground of opposition to the national banks.

Of other matters before Congress during his term it may be said that he favored the suspension of the right of habeas corpus. The Homestead Act of 1862 also received his support. He cast his vote, too, for the Thirteenth Amendment when it passed the Senate in April, 1864. The draft bill was given his affirmative vote. While this was before the Senate he proposed the exemption of members of Congress but the amendment did not carry. He opposed the bill giving to the army the enforcement of the Civil Rights Bill. On December 10th, 1866 he created a sensation in Congress by introducing a bill to give negro women the right to vote. When he was charged with making this motion as a joke, he stoutly protested that he had acted in all seriousness. This movement for negro female suffrage received the favorable votes of 8 other senators but was lost as 37 were not willing to give this right to negro while denying it to white women.

The last months of his term were those in which the overshadowing question in Congress was the struggle with President Johnson which finally led to the impeachment of the President. In this contest Cowan supported the President. For example, he was absent when the Freedmen's Bureau Bill was passed on January 25th, 1866. But when the question of the President's veto was before the Senate he was present and voted to sustain the veto. Again he voted against the Civil Rights Bill on February 2d, 1866 and

refused to give his vote to pass it over the veto of the President. Likewise, he opposed the Tenure of Office Act of January 18th, 1867. On this occasion the other Senator from Pennsylvania, Buckalew, voted as he did.

It was probably this support of the President which secured him the appointment to a post in the diplomatic service and also led the Senate to decline to confirm the appointment. During the last session of the Thirty-ninth Congress which met in December, 1866 there was a general impression that such a post would be offered him as his reelection was plainly impossible. At one time the rumor was current that he would be made Secretary of War. During a discussion of this on the floor of the Senate, Senator Saulsbury of Delaware declared that as a statesman Cowan had no superior in the Senate if in the country. When the historian Motley who had been minister to Austria resigned, President Johnson sent to the Senate the nomination of Cowan to take his place. After long discussion the Senate left the matter laying on the table when the term ended on March 3rd, 1867. Cowan then retired to private life and resumed the practice of law. His death occurred August 31st, 1885.

As noted there was no chance of his reelection. Several candidates for his seat appeared. Among these were former Senator Cameron, Thaddeus Stevens, Galusha A. Grow, Col. Forney and Gov. Curtin. The last three retired from the race in favor of Stevens. There was a strong sentiment in favor of his election. Those who supported him openly hinted that money was being used in behalf of Cameron. Whether there was or not does not concern us here. He was selected as their candidate at the caucus of the Republicans. A change had been made in the method of electing United States senators. Each House now voted separately. The vote in the Senate stood, Cameron 19, Cowan 10; in the House, Cameron 62 and Cowan 37. Whence came these Cowan votes? They came from the Democrats. Here was indeed a most unusual reversal of political support. The man who had been elected by the Republican majority in 1861 became the candidate of the Democratic minority in 1867. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* which in 1861 had declared that Bigler the weak-kneed doughface had gone to

the wall and his place had fallen to a man, now rejoiced that Cameron had become the successor "to the renegade Cowan in the United States Senate."

What judgment can be passed upon the man whose official career has thus been briefly sketched? That he was an able lawyer, a well-trained scholar and a forceful orator was conceded by all. Yet his political career was singularly unfortunate. The stand which he took upon decisive questions was such, in most cases, as to cost him his popularity and support. Yet he always protested that he was doing what he believed to be just, equitable and constitutional. May the explanation, in part, not be found in the fact that he was above all else a constitutional lawyer. He could not make concessions in such matters even for the sake of winning the war. That he was a man with firm convictions and with the courage to be true to those convictions at whatever cost, is our judgment upon the man.

THE LUCASES*

A Noted St. Louis Family

By

HENRY L. PATTERSON

The late Judge John B. C. Lucas, the founder of the family in America, was born in Normandy, France, in the year 1758, and died in St. Louis, August 31, 1842, aged 84 years. He came to the United States about 1784; after spending a few weeks in Philadelphia, started for the West, and settled a few miles back of Pittsburgh, farming here for twenty-five years. During that period he was returned to Congress from his district. In 1805 President Jefferson sent him to Missouri to pass upon the land claims of those who held or claimed under the former governments of Spain and France. His associates were Penrose and Donaldson. He brought with him to Missouri his wife, sons—Charles, William, Adrian, James H., and daughter Anne, who became Anne L. Hunt. Charles died in 1817, Adrian next. William, 1836; James H., 1873, and Anne Lucas Hunt in 1879, she being the last of these two generations. He was educated in France, and came to America a thorough read lawyer. All those who were contemporaneous with him, accord to him talents of the very highest order, and an integrity beyond question or doubt; his man-

*The founder of this family was prominent in the political life of Pittsburgh in the early days. In 1796, he lived on a farm on Coal Hill on the south side of the Monongahela River, in St. Clair Township, five miles above Pittsburgh. It was said of him that he was an atheist, and that his wife plowed on Sundays, in spite of which he was several times elected to the General Assembly. In 1800, he was appointed an associate judge for the county. He quarrelled with Alexander Addison, the president judge of the judicial district to which Allegheny County was attached, yet he had sufficient standing in the state to cause Judge Addison's impeachment and removal from the Bench. In 1802, Lucas was elected to Congress and was re-elected in 1804. In 1805, he was appointed United States District Judge for the new territory of Louisiana, now the state of Missouri.—Editor

ners were those of an elegantly refined gentleman, high or low were always met with a suavity at once grateful and agreeable. It may be truly said he was a victim of calamities, having lost out of six sons, five by unnatural deaths. These terrible events doubtless went far to influence his later life, and to account for his withdrawal from all social intercourse. But few minds could have survived such dreadful experiences and retained anything of its original force; his did, it was powerful to the last. The foregoing sketch has an object that is to show the fallacy of memory of some men who, to glorify themselves as "old inhabitants" talk falsely and glibly of past events in the history of men and things. Referring to your issue of January 30, fourth column, fourth page, your reporter relates an interview with a prominent citizen, as follows: "I have frequently heard the story that Dorriss won the block on Eleventh and Olive streets, which goes by his name from old Mr. J. B. Lucas, the father of James H. I believe it is true. Lucas was very fond of gambling, and would sit down to poker whenever he could get a party. A number of us went up the river a good many years ago, and in the party were J. B. C. Lucas, Luther M. Kennett, who was Mayor of the city at the time, and Dorriss. A poker game was organized with these three among the players. Well, Kennett got a good hand and bet it against Lucas. Kennett won $500 during the evening from Lucas, who didn't mind the loss at all, etc., etc."

I have quoted thus freely from your article with a view to show the facility with which some old "residents" relate facts and incidents that never existed or occurred—in common parlance, lie.

The steamboat excursion referred to happened in 1852 and was on the occasion of breaking ground at Hannibal of the H. & St. Joe railroad. I was one of the St. Louis delegation and was on the boat that night and saw all. Your informant asserts he saw J. B. C. Lucas, the father of James H., at cards with Kennett. The old Judge, father of James H., so positively identified, died August 31, 1842, some ten years anterior to the steamboat excursion, which renders it quite improbable that he was "seeing poker" that evening. Gen. Dorriss was not on that boat.

James H. Lucas

James H. Lucas, the last surviving son of J. B. C. Lucas, was born November 12, 1800, near Pittsburgh, and died at St. Louis, November 9, 1873, was buried in Calvary cemetery on his birthday, November 12. He came to St. Louis with his father in 1805, a very sprightly boy of five years old. His disposition for fun and mischief was exuberant, which did not quite suit the taste of the old gentleman, so that, at about the age of sixteen, the father, with the view to tone down the youngster's spirits, sent him to school in New Hampshire, supposing that the steady habits of that latitude would influence the boy. But it was no go. The peculiarities of those people were intolerable to him. After enduring for a year or so, he resolved to quit and try life on his own hook. So, writing to his father in a "Declaration of Independence," he put out. Traveling near due west he came to and stopped at the town of Poughkeepsie, Duchess county, N. Y. Here he immediately entered the office of Elisha Williams, at that time the leading lawyer of New York, and began the study of the law, meanwhile teaching French to eke out expenses. This, however, did not last long. His roving spirit would not brook delay. Again packing his kit he starts for Arkansas and brings up at the *Post*. Here he was so fortunate as to win the esteem and friendship of Mr. Notrebe, a very elegant, refined and cultivated French gentleman, a leading merchant and a planter at the Post. This friendship lasted through life. Upon reaching this, his last destination, he resumed his law-reading, and, while acquiring a profession, taught school, evincing an energy and determination seldom manifested by a lad of 18 years. While pursuing his studies he was made county clerk. Soon after having obtained his license as a lawyer, he began to "ride the circuit." The extent of his practice is unknown to me, but it must have paid, for he soon married, and next we find him a planter. This was his life down to 1836, when his father, finding himself alone, William having died that year, wrote, requesting him to remove to St. Louis, with which he complied in 1837. From his advent to St. Louis until his death in 1873, he was identified with all the

leading projects, having in view the extension, beautifying and improvement of the city, and was among the foremost of public spirited men when schemes to benefit the whole community were suggested. He, O'Fallon and Page were the trio who subscribed the first $100,000 to the Missouri Pacific Railroad—this about 1850 and 1851.

The Lucas Estate

The Lucas estate extended from the east side of Fourth Street west to Jefferson Avenue, St. Charles Street on the north and Market Street on the south, the heart of St. Louis. When he took charge in 1837 there were not one hundred houses in the district. Look at it now. Public and private buildings counted by the thousand bear ample testimony of the liberal policy of the proprietors inviting all to come in, aiding and encouraging improvements, and themselves building houses by the hundred. In his social relations he was kindly, gentle and affectionate, one of the most approachable of men—a magnanimous auditor, for out of the hundreds of trusts and mortgages he held on property sold, not to exceed five were ever forcibly closed, and these generally at the request of the debtor. His charities were liberal, unostentatious—I may say, secret. Take him all in all, his character was beautiful. He died in the day of his usefulness deeply regretted by this community. These are the two men whose memories are stigmatized by certain old residents—mental vagabonds rather—who walk our streets licking up every defamatory item of gossip, stowing it away in their mean souls for future use, and when opportunity offers palming them off on "innocent reporters" as facts of their own knowledge. As an illustration of this base habit, look at the short dialogue as given in your issue of January 30, page 4, fifth column, to-wit:

Reporter—"The Dorriss Row on Olive Street. I believe that was won in a night, wasn't it?"

Old Resident answers: "Yes; Gen. Dorriss won that of J. B. C. Lucas on three nines, and to this day among the gambling fraternity three nines are known as a 'Lucas'." Here the slanderer answers unequivocally, "Yes," without the grace to qualify by saying, I have heard so and so.

The following facts and figures most conclusively show that there never was a word of truth in the tale of the three nines. Referring to the records of St. Louis county: (see book A, page 85, February 7, 1849.) Deed of James H. Lucas and Anne L. Hunt to John Cavender for 49 7-12 feet on north side of Olive and west of Eleventh. Again, same book and page, date February 12, 1849: E. C. Hutchinson to John Cavender, 80 8-12 feet on north side Olive in block 506. Book O. 5, page 278. December 18, 1849. Deed of Lucas Hunt to Edward A. Meany, of Chicot County, Ark., for 75 feet on north side of Olive Street, in block 56. These three deeds embraced the entire 205 feet covered by the Dorriss Row. Gen. Dorriss became a resident of St. Louis in 1868. Just about nineteen years after Lucas and Hunt had ceased to own a foot of the ground, Gen. Dorriss purchased of Wayman Crow, and, if the tale of three nines is to be maintained and repeated, I respectfully refer old residents to Mr. Crow for further information, as he was the last owner of the premises before Dorriss. This exposition may deprive the smart "ten cent ante" fellows of a standard joke, and cause "old residents" to cease their lying.

Anne Lucas Hunt

Anne Lucas Hunt, the only daughter, was born near Pittsburgh, September, 1796; came to St. Louis with her father in 1805, then in her ninth year a bright, precocious child. Education at that early day was a difficult matter to attain. There being no first-class schools, no colleges or convents, the young folks were dependent upon home instructions, and these varied according to the abilities of parents. Our heroine was more fortunate than most of her companions in having a father of genius and high classical attainments and a well educated, sensible mother. From these she mainly obtained such culture and knowledge as enabled her to appear to advantage in cultivated and intelligent society. Her career as a belle was short, for in her eighteenth year she married Capt. Theodore Hunt, formerly of the United States Navy; this in 1814. He died in 1832. Afterwards in 1836 she married Wilson P. Hunt, who died in April 1842. About this time her life became one of systematic benevolence, seeking out the poor, the suffering and

afflicted. While administering to their wants she sought more extended fields for her charities, and appropriated largely of her estate to endow and build up societies, orders and institutions for the relief of the poor, and the extension of good morals. The tale of misery and suffering always touched her heart and opened her hand. She saw the vicious of both sexes becoming daily more numerous and more degraded; she also saw the world condemning, but doing little to alleviate or reclaim.

Mr. Editor, I feel that I would trespass too far upon your army of twenty thousand daily subscribers were I to go into a detail of the very many noble bequests of this remarkable lady. I will mention but one, to-wit: "The Convent of the Good Shepherd," founded by her in the interests of fallen humanity—an institution comparatively speaking in its infancy, containing today within its walls four hundred and seventy-five souls—a vast multitude. Who can analyze its moral and vicious composition, ranging from the highest type of angelic virtue down to the most degraded habits of vice? Monuments of marble and bronze are erected in memory of and to perpetuate the name and fame of those who have done great things in their day, and are intended to excite admiration and invite imitation, but they are silent. Not so this monument; the prayers and aspirations of these four hundred and seventy-five beings daily ascend to heaven beseeching God's blessings on their generous foundress, who for all time has provided them a home, where, secure from the sneers and temptations of the world, they may recover a self respect, abandoning the life of sin, and once more placing themselves in the line of God's favor. Therefore, so long as sinful women shall exist on earth, this monument will speak, and she who, disregarding earthly values gave freely of her substance will be called "blessed of women."—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 18, 1882.

WHEN JUDGE F. H. COLLIER WAS A YOUNG LAWYER

By

JOHN H. KILLIN

Between twenty-five and thirty years ago, a case of assault and battery was tried in the Court of Quarter Sessions of this county before Judge McClure, which attracted much attention and awakened a deep interest in the minds of all who heard it, in favor of the defendant. A young man was brought from jail, where he had been for some time confined, before the court, charged as above, on one of his employer's sons; the former being the prosecutor. As the defendant had no attorney, at the request of the court F. H. Collier, Esq., defended him. The defendant came from the prisoner's box and sat down by Mr. Collier, and they engaged in an exceedingly earnest conversation. After being thus engaged probably fifteen minutes the court called Mr. Collier's attention to the fact that he was consuming too much valuable time, and the latter announced that he was ready to proceed with the case. The testimony of the prosecutor's witnesses made out a clear case against the defendant, but, as the latter had no witnesses, Mr. Collier drew out of those for the plaintiff some facts that were of considerable importance to his client. The testimony was that the prosecutor owned a ferryboat at Elizabeth on the Monongahela River, and that defendant was employed by him; also that the plaintiff had two boys who daily heaped abuse on his client, and that on the day he committed the assault on one of them, his client was under the influence of liquor. It is not often that a lawyer gives as much earnest attention to a case when he expects no reward, as Mr. Collier did in this one. It has always been my disposition to side with the weak and oppressed, hence my sympathy was enlisted so much in favor of that prisoner that I retain a fair recollection of the substance of the speech Mr. Collier made to the jury on that occasion. He arose from his seat, turned to the jury and earnestly scanned each face and then in a voice which clearly indicated that he was much interested,

he said, "Gentlemen of the jury, I will preface the short address I propose to make to you, in behalf of my client, by relating a scrap of my early history. When I was a boy, the son of a poor Methodist preacher in lower Maryland, I had a friend, a noble-hearted boy, whom I loved with all the ardour of my young heart. In those days Methodist preachers were so poorly paid that in a sparsely settled country they barely received enough compensation for their services to keep soul and body together. My father occupied a position of the better kind, and, although I have no recollections of ever suffering for want of food, I can recall several occasions during the cold, bitter winters on the coast of being short of fuel. I can also remember that my young friend, who often visited us, was not oblivious to this fact, as he was generally on hand with a sled load, if there was snow, or his arms filled with wood from his father's pile, when we were in need. Time passed, my father moved west and settled in this county and in his new home he received sufficient remuneration for his services to live comfortably and educate his children. Now, gentlemen of the jury, as my story is about done, as you seem to be interested, probably some of you would like to know whether or not I ever saw my young friend after I left him and moved west. I will tell you that I did, but never until within the last hour, and there he sits," pointing to the defendant. This announcement created a profound sensation; it is my firm belief that from the stern judge to the humblest man in the lobby, there was not a bosom in which the feelings of sympathy were not stirred. Mr. Collier continued:

"Now, gentlemen of the jury, I will simply and briefly call your attention to the testimony in this case. You will remember that the witnesses for the prosecution have testified that my client has been, to say the least of it, shamefully treated, and that when he committed the assault he was under the influence of liquor, during which he forgot his dependent position and asserted his manhood. These facts, I trust, will be received by you as a palliation for the offence he has committed and recommend him so kindly to your consideration that you will reach the conclusion that the time he has been confined in jail has been a greater punishment than he deserved."

After the prosecuting attorney had made a short speech and Judge McClure a brief change, the jury retired and acquitted the defendant on the first ballot.

Pittsburgh, March 10, 1880.

REMINISCENCES OF EARLY PITTSBURGH

By

MRS. C. SIMPSON

My father came to Pittsburgh in 1797 and I was born in 1800 near O'Hara's glass works, the first establishment of the kind in this vicinity. It was built by Messrs. James O'Hara and Isaac Craig, and Mr. Wm. Eichbaum, father of the late Wm. Eichbaum, was engaged to superintend the erection of the building. It has long since disappeared.

The old fort and magazine near the Point, I remember quite well, and the picket line, still in a good degree of preservation.

Some account has been given of a slide on Mt. Washington, but there was one many years before which I recall quite clearly. It swept off a red frame ferry-house that stood on the edge of the bank above the landing, and the road was rendered impassable for several days, being completely filled up with trees, stumps and rocks.

I have often wondered why no one has ever mentioned the Little Round Church (Episcopal) at the corner of Wood and Liberty streets. Does any one remember it? It is said that Mr. Wm. Price modeled his "Round House" after this building. I recollect it quite well and when it was demolished, but I cannot give the date of its demolition.

And there was also a Catholic church, St. Patrick's, I think. I cannot define its location, but there was quite an open common about it where I played once with some youthful companions; and there was a clear, beautiful stream of water in front of it. It was but a small building and I am under the impression that it was burned down.

There was a German Lutheran church at a very early period on the corner of Smithfield Street and Strawberry Alley.

The first book-store I remember was the Franklin Book Store on Wood Street, near Fourth Street, as near as I can recall.

Dr. Dawson kept a drug-store at the corner of Fourth

and Wood streets. I do not remember any other drug-store at this time.

Reiter's confectionery was the first establishment of the kind in Pittsburgh; at least it is the only one I remember, and the first bakery was that of Mr. Brown.

Does anyone recall old John Taylor, the "Almanac Man," as he was called? His prognostications of the weather always had a margin of "either the day before or the day after." It seems to me that he was pastor of the Round Church at one time.

The first steam mill stood at the foot of Penn Street on a bluff. It was an object of great curiosity to the country people coming to market. The steam puffing out attracted great attention, and I remember hearing one old farmer say that he believed "if anyone would go close enough it would knock him down." I think this mill became Davis' cracker factory.

I remember quite well the first steamboat built here and the great excitement in launching it. It was customary for the first steamboats to carry, each, a small cannon to fire upon entering and leaving port. Water Street and the wharf would be crowded upon a boat going out, so intense was the curiosity in regard to steam navigation.

When I was a little girl, there were some sailing vessels built here for Gulf service. One of my earliest recollections is going with my mother to see one of these ships, as they were called. It was rigged and ready for sailing, and was going up and down the river short distances with a crowd of gaily dressed ladies and their escorts on board.

My attention, however, was riveted by the sailors running up to the top of the high masts, sometimes hidden by the snowy sails.

Eichbaum's wire factory stood on the bank of the Monongahela River, opposite Birmingham. There were three brothers Eichbaum, Henry, William and Arnold, who with their mother and sisters, lived in a neat frame house near the works. The house had a long porch facing the river.

McClurg's foundry (the old foundry) stood between Fifth Street and Virgin Alley. In the war of 1812 Mr. McClurg had heavy contracts for cannon and balls. The cannon were cast solid and bored out and the boring mill was

on the Allegheny River bank somewhere near where the Arsenal now stands. And I am confident these balls were used in the proving process.

I remember an interesting incident in this connection, which has never made its appearance in print. Mr. McClurg, though of Irish birth, was as intensely loyal to the interests of his adopted country as he was bitter toward England. He had, as I said before, contracts for cannon and balls in the war of 1812, and was keenly interested in its progress. Almost every morning he would come down and read the war news to the molders in the casting-house while they worked.

One morning, in September, 1813, he came as usual, sat down, unfolded his paper, and began to look over it, when all at once he jumped to his feet, shouting, "My balls, boys! My balls, boys! Commodore Perry on the lakes! My balls, boys!" His excitement was so great that his wondering workmen could receive no explanation for some time, the old gentleman continuing to shout, "My balls! My balls!" By and by, however, it was discovered that a supply of balls from his foundry had arrived just in time for Perry to renew the action in his celebrated fight, and to secure the victory.

And no wonder the old gentleman was so proud and happy in regard to his "balls."

November 1, 1880.

GEORGE GROGHAN AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE OHIO VALLEY—1748-1758

By

CLARENCE R. THAYER*

Few parts of American history are so interesting or have been so far-reaching in their importance as the decade from 1748 to 1758, which marked the climax of the struggle between the French and the English for the possession of the Ohio Valley. A large part of this struggle took place on local ground and should, therefore, be of paramount interest to all. It was the good fortune of this city to be able to play a most important part in the struggle in the person of one of its residents—a man whose knowledge of Indian languages, customs and traits enabled him to perform things impossible to others and at once gave him an immeasurable advantage in dealings with the Indians. I refer to George Croghan, Indian trader and fur dealer, of whom Thwaites, the eminent historian of American frontier history, says, "Next to Sir William Johnson, George Croghan was the most prominent figure among British Indian agents during the period of the later French wars and the conspiracy of Pontiac. A history of his life is therefore an epitome of the Indian relations with the whites, especially on the borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania and in the Ohio Valley. A pioneer trader and traveller, and a government agent, no other man of his time better knew the West and the counter currents that went to make up its history." (1) His journals, of which several are extant, are used by Parkman in his "Conspiracy of Pontiac" (2) and by Justin Winsor in his "Narrative and Critical History of America." (3)

Little is known of the life of Croghan previous to 1748. Born in Ireland, educated in Dublin, (4) he had come to this country a short time previous to 1744, at which time he seems first to have been licensed as a trader. (5) Establishing himself on his arrival in this country just west of the

*Bead by the author, a student in the University of Pittsburgh, before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on May 31, 1921.

Susquehanna—then the very fringe of civilization—he made long trips into the West, carrying on an extensive trade with the Indians as far as the Lake Erie and Sandusky regions. (6)

It was on a return from one of these trips to the West that Croghan wrote a letter to the Secretary of Pennsylvania dated May 26, 1747, calling the attention of the latter to the strategic opportunity afforded the English to possess the Ohio Valley because of the turning of the Indian tribes there against the French. Croghan says in part:

"Those Indians were always in the French interest till now; but this spring almost all the Indians in the woods have declared against the French and I think this will be a fair opportunity, if pursued by some small presents, to have all the French cut off in those parts, for the Indians are very much led by anything that will tend to their own self-interest and will think a great deal of a little powder and lead at this time; besides, it will be a means of drawing those that have not yet joined." (7)

This letter, together with an Indian letter which Croghan enclosed, was presented to the Council June 8th. The Council turned it over to the Assembly, which, after some delay, acted favorably on it, but hesitated all summer long to take any definite action upon it.

Late in September another letter was received from Croghan, in which he again urged that a present of powder and lead be sent the Indians of the Lake Erie region. This time he added the significant statement that if the present were not made forthwith, the Indians would turn to the French. (8) When this letter was laid before the Council, that body promptly voted two hundred pounds to be expended for presents to the Ohio Indians.

The following year, 1748—the year in which the war between England and France known as King George's War was technically brought to a close—marked an epoch in the history of the West. Until this year no very definite steps toward a permanent occupation of this part of the continent had been taken by either the French or the English. The entire region lay very largely unexplored and, except by the Indians, almost totally unsettled. A few free-lance traders, exploiting its enormous wealth of furs, were almost

the only white men the region ever saw.

Not much longer was this fair region of America to be undisturbed. Already it was claimed by two strong rival powers, who were slowly but surely coming to realize the vital importance of this region to future colonial development. Gradually the importance of this magnificent territory made itself felt as the commerce and interests of both French and English expanded.

Thanks to the timely letters of Croghan, the Pennsylvania authorities were the first to take steps toward the possession of the Ohio Valley. In April, 1748, it fell to Croghan to carry a gift from the Pennsylvania Assembly to the Indians at Logstown, one of their important towns located on the right bank of the Ohio, eighteen miles below Pittsburg. It must have been a picturesque, as it was a most important, expedition which slowly wound its way over the mountains to the upper Ohio. The die was cast—and the game began.

The efforts of Croghan, together with those of Conrad Weiser, the Indian interpreter for the Province, who followed him with additional gifts later in the summer, resulted in a treaty with the Indians which left Pennsylvania in control of the entire Indian trade from Logstown west to the Mississippi and north to the Michigan region. (9)

The French were unwilling that lands to which they laid claim, and which were to them the source of considerable revenue, should thus easily slip from under their control. Nor were they willing that Indians whom they considered under French rule should become not merely friendly to the English but, in addition, hostile to French interests as well.

Accordingly, the Governor-General of Canada not to be outdone, dispatched in the summer of the very next year a French officer, Celeron, accompanied by three hundred soldiers and a number of Indian allies, to reprove the Indians for opening trade relations with the English as well as to warn the latter off the land. Celeron was also to attempt, so far as possible, to remedy the damage done French trade by the treaty of Logstown made with the Indians by the English the year before. In these purposes Celeron was largely thwarted by Croghan, "the shrewd barterer and wily agent" as Justin Winsor has characterized him. Croghan arrived

on the Ohio a few days after the departure of Celeron and succeeded not only in undoing the work of the latter, but also in binding the Indians closer than ever in their allegiance to the English. (10)

In the autumn of the following year, 1750, Colonel Johnson, Indian agent for the Crown, learned from two escaped prisoners, that the French were making preparations to invade the Ohio valley the following spring. Governor Clinton of New York communicated this information to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, who at once sent Croghan to the Ohio to forestall the attempts of the French to win over the Indians.

On this occasion the Indians requested that a strong house be built on the Ohio for the protection of themselves and of the English trade against the French (12). Already the English had heard through the Indians of the intentions of the French to erect two forts—one at Niagara and the other on the southern shore of Lake Erie or on the headwaters of the Allegheny River (13). The governor, thoroughly alarmed, was eager to act on the request of the Indians for a fort. The Proprietors, after reading Croghan's report on the matter, were quick to see the advantages accruing from such a fort, and offered to the Assembly, with which body they had long quarreled over Indian expenses, four hundred pounds to erect a fort and an annual appropriation of one hundred pounds to maintain it (14). The Assembly did not act favorably on this matter, but did allow the governor to give Croghan private instructions to sound the Indians on the matter, when he should arrive at Logstown in the late spring of 1751 (15).

The expedition from Canada, concerning which the English had been hearing persistent rumors, actually came into the Ohio Valley in the spring of 1751 under the leadership of Joincare. Croghan was again sent out to defeat this expedition and was very largely successful in the task. Meeting Joincare at Logstown in May, 1751, Croghan quite outwitted that clever gentleman and was able to retain the friendship of the Indians. Once more the Indians asserted their desire for a house on the Ohio (16). For his transference of this request Croghan was accused by the Assembly of misunderstanding or misrepresenting the Indians. The Assembly,

ever dilatory, and averse, on general principles, to any war measures, was only too willing to suspect that Croghan was desirous of personal gain, and on this pretext, to oppose the measure. They gave as an additional reason for their failure to build a fort at this time the impending negotiations with Virginia over boundary disputes. The erection of a fort at that time on land claimed by that state would almost certainly have caused trouble.

The failure on the part of the Pennsylvania authorities at this time to build a fort on the Ohio was fatal to English interests. It is wholly probable that if they had seen fit to heed Croghan's advice the Ohio Valley would never have passed into the hands of the French and a large amount of bloodshed and suffering might have been spared the colonists in the border warfare which followed shortly after.

The scruples which had prevented Pennsylvania from building a fort on land claimed by Virginia, did not at all seem to prevent the Virginians from building a fort on territory claimed by Pennsylvania. The jealousy of Virginia was aroused by the monopoly of trade which Pennsylvania had secured by the important Logstown treaty of 1748. In that very year, a member of the Virginia Council, Thomas Lee by name, conceived the idea of organizing a land company to be known as the Ohio Company, whose purpose was to settle territory in the upper Ohio Valley. Preparations were pushed forward as rapidly as the nature of the project would permit; but, due to the intrigue of the French and the opposition of the Pennsylvania traders, a conference of the Indians could not be held until June, 1752. At this meeting, in which Croghan took part, the Indians denied the claim of Virginia to the Ohio lands but promised not to molest any Virginians who might wish to settle there. They also asked Virginia to erect a fort for them. They received an affirmative answer to this request, but the building of the fort commenced too late to prevent the ultimate occupation of the valley by the French (17).

During all this time the French were becoming more and more menacing. In February, 1752, Croghan had sent an appeal of the Shawnese for help to the governor. The occasion of this appeal from the Indians was the killing of thirty warriors by the French. Governor Hamilton replied

with soft words, for that was all his pacific Assembly would allow him to use (18). Meanwhile the Indians retaliated and brought down upon themselves the wrath of the French. The situation was becoming critical for the Ohio Indians.

Months passed by and the Pennsylvania Assembly did nothing. Rumors of another French invasion in larger numbers were persistent. On May 7, 1753, Croghan, among others, was present at Pine Creek, not far from Logstown, when a letter arrived from one John Fraser, a trader, with definite information as to the movements and designs of the French. Among the matters mentioned by Fraser in his letter was the intention of the French to build two forts on the Ohio (19).

The dilatory Pennsylvania Assembly was so stirred by this letter that it promptly voted an appropriation of eight hundred pounds to be used in Indian affairs. Virginia, also, promptly sent assurance of aid to the Indians. Conferences with the Indians followed. The Virginians met them at Winchester to arrange for the giving of aid and supplies. The Pennsylvanians met them soon after at Carlisle, where the Indians were given many presents and fair promises which were not kept. In both conferences Croghan was present and took an active part.

The close of the year found the English interests in the Ohio valley seriously threatened, but still in the ascendancy. During the winter most of the French withdrew to Canada, complaining that the Indians were remaining true to the English. Nevertheless, the French worked steadily toward an Indian alliance and partially succeeded in the attempt.

During this critical winter Pennsylvania remained practically inactive. Virginia showed somewhat more interest by sending young George Washington on his historic journey to the commander of the French fort, Le Boeuf, on the upper waters of the Allegheny. Croghan passed into the Ohio region soon after Washington left (20). He found the situation critical. The Indians were perhaps from fifteen hundred to two thousand in number but could hardly hope to make effective resistance against trained Frenchmen in large numbers armed with cannon. They were too scattered and too poorly equipped with ammunition even to attempt to resist the French without material assistance from the Eng-

lish. To be sure a small force of men under Croghan's half-brother, Ensign Ward, was working at the forks of the Ohio in constructing a fort for the Ohio Company, but they could not hope to resist the French. Croghan wrote to Governor Hamilton and the Secretary, urging the erection of a strong log trading-house or stockade. With a refusal to make any contribution for the defense of the Province, the Assembly adjourned on March 9, 1754 (21).

Croghan stayed at the Forks of the Ohio for a few weeks to help in the distribution of Indian goods during the building of the fort. He left about the middle of March. At this time, according to a letter of his, some seventy men were engaged in building the fort (22). About a month later this small force was compelled to surrender its uncompleted work to Contrecour, the French commander on the Ohio, who appeared with a thousand men and eighteen cannon.

The situation of the Indians friendly to the English was now extreme indeed. The Half King, their chief, notified Croghan, who in turn notified the governor, that if help were not forthcoming, the Indians would be forced to yield (23). But the governor delayed. The defeat of the inadequate expedition of Washington at Great Meadows and that of the proud Braddock, in both of which expeditions Croghan was active, completed the work of destruction. Indians who up to this time had remained neutral did not now hesitate to join the French openly.

For three years the French retained a stranglehold on the Ohio valley and, in fact, on all of Pennsylvania east to the Susquehanna. The western border became a scene of fearful and destructive Indian warfare.

In 1756, Croghan was honored by being made Deputy Commissioner of Indian Affairs for Sir William Johnson, who at that time represented the Crown for Indian affairs in America (24). In this capacity Croghan played a most important role as a mediator in a series of conferences with the Indians which lasted from July, 1756 to October, 1758, when final peace was concluded with the Western Indians. Croghan's activities in these conferences would require for their adequate treatment a paper of their own and cannot therefore be taken up here.

Sufficient be it to say that as a result of these confer-

ences in the East plus the efforts of Christian Frederick Post, the Moravian missionary, in the West, the route was opened for the successful march of General Forbes upon Duquesne. It remained only for Croghan to gather up the fruits of the victory in a treaty made at Pittsburg the following July. (25)

The struggle for the Ohio valley was now over. In the short space of a decade the English had gained, lost and regained the fair Ohio valley. And the work of George Croghan, fur trader and Indian agent, was no small factor in bringing about the final result. The French evidently thought so, for they placed a price upon his head. It has already been pointed out in a quotation from no less an authority than Thwaites that Croghan enjoyed a prominence among British Indian agents of the later French wars rivaled only by that of Sir William Johnson. And because Sir William Johnson confined his efforts largely to the New York Indians, we may assign to George Croghan the honor of having played the most important part in that most interesting and important of period in American history—a period upon which hung the destiny of a nation and a period with which every American of whatever rank or station should be familiar—the period in which the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon in the New World was established and the first seeds of a new nation planted in its virgin soil.

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NOTES

1. THWAITES, p. 47.
2. Altogether Parkman makes some fifty references to Croghan in this work. His journals are quoted verbatim III, 168-170, and in footnote III, 137. Letters of his are quoted III, 29 and footnotes I, 189; II, 253; III, 172. References to his journals are made in footnotes I, 79, 155, 162, 185, 224; II, 58; III, 136, 157.
3. See V, 10, 498, 570, 575, 596, 610, 650; VI, 702-705.
4. THWAITES, p. 47.

5. HANNA, p. 1 gives 1740; DARLINGTON, p. 176, gives 1743 or 1744.
6. THWAITES, p. 47
7. C. R. 72. Pa. Ars. 1, 742-743. (Liberties have been taken with spelling etc.)
8. C. R., 119. Pa. Ars. 1, 770.
9. C. R., 287-289.
10. C. R., 387; Pa. Ars. II, 31.
11. C. R., 480-481.
12. C. R., 497.
13. WEISER, p. 246.
14. C. R., 515.
15. C. R., 515-522.
16. C. R., 530-540.
17. GIST, 231-236.
18. C. R., 568-570.
19. WEISER, p. 264; W. Trail, p. 3.
20. C. R., 731.
21. C. R., 764-765.
22. C. R., VI, 21.
23. C. R., V. 734.
24. C. R. VII, 354.
25. C. R., VIII, 382-391.

IN MEMORY OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY

Dedication of the Great-House and Grounds

Probably 5,000 people assembled at the Great-House in Economy Sunday afternoon to participate in the dedication of the historical old structure and grounds as a memorial to the now defunct Harmony Society which made the spot famous the wide world over and which had as its guests at various times such world-famed characters as Rudyard Kipling, Lafayette and a long string of others.

Special trains brought guests from all over Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and even as far as Indiana, while autos lined the streets for squares around.

On account of threatening weather probably half of those who would have liked to attend remained away.

The Harmony Society Historical Association under whose care the state has placed the grounds and Mr. J. S. Duss, the last trustee of the society, had been working for weeks to place the thirty-roomed quaint old structure with its wealth of curios and the beautiful old gardens in shape for the event, and as a result they alone fully recompensed the visitors, to say nothing of the splendid program which was rendered.

Excellent as were the addresses, easily the feature of the event was the musical program and "The March of Time" as might be expected was the *piece de resistance* —Mr. Duss' new composition which was given its premier presentation.

Before the rendition of this number Mr. Duss took the audience into his confidence by explaining how the happy ideas both in words and music had come to him. He stated that he deserved no credit whatsoever for any merit that might be found either in the text or the music, that all was inspiration pure and simple. Perhaps we are mistaken, but we feel inclined to think that Mr. Duss overstated the case. No matter what the inspiration may have been, the evolution of the big idea and the boiling down of the same into five stanzas proved of such literary merit, shows the devotion of

a deal of profound thought and work and we are inclined to feel that the same is true as to the music.

The number was first played by the band. A storm of applause followed. Mr. Duss turned and bowed his acknowledgment; finally, he raised his hands and indicated silence. Thereupon the chorus took up its position beside the bandstand, the assistant conductor, Mr. Funaro, took the baton and at a nod from Mr. Duss the band sung into the march trio and the audience was treated to the novelty of a speech or recitation, with the background of a soft accompaniment by the band. Every verse—there were the five of national importance and seven of local color—was received with unbounded enthusiasm.

The audience took seriously the main text, having to do with the development of our nation—said text we predict will become a classic, one that ought to adorn a page in the school books of future generations.

The encore verses were of a semi-humorous character and the crowd caught the spirit of fun that was poked at the "weavers of Pittsburgh who in 1829 sought the assembly to dissolve the Harmony Society" and now also "rest in peace."

Mr. Duss' inimitable presentation of the words, the refrain by the chorus and the splendid musical background constitutes a treat that will not soon be forgotten and every resident of Ambridge may feel a just pride in what our little city can show in the way of artistic accomplishment.

Upon the whole it did one's heart good to once again hear a program of dignity and no matter how oft it may be repeated and the public does not care for good music—that it wants only jazz time, etc., we know that Mr. Duss and his band gave us some of the best that there is in music and it was received by the public with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction.

So greatly were the people interested that even when the rain began to fall they merely raised their umbrellas or huddled around the trees and shrubbery that are a part of the beauty of the old gardens.

THE BAND

And that band that was gotten together is worthy of more than passing comment, composed of experts gathered

from far and wide, it played just as though it were a long famous organization. Of course much of the credit is due to Mr. Duss as conductor. He still retains the vigor and precision of former years and his baton was easily followed as was particularly manifested in the dainty "Pizzicato" from Sylvia which was played as an encore and rendered perfectly, as were all the other numbers for that matter.

And in that band of 32 pieces were about a dozen faces familiar nearly a quarter of a century ago as members of the Duss Band that toured the country, or of the New York Metropolitan Orchestra, conducted by Mr. Duss. One of them was Danny Nirella, Pittsburgh's leading bandmaster who was in the clarionet section. Others were Philip D'Ivernois, at one time school teacher in Economy; Otto Straube; Carl Nusser, with his picturesque bassoon; Leon Prevost, cornetist who looks as young as he did 20 years ago; Otto Loeblesch, French horn player; George Backer on the trap drum and P. C. Funaro, assistant conductor whom Duss regards as the Paganini of the Euphonium. The others are the equals of these in musical talent.

An impressive feature was the rendering of "The Star Spangled Banner" while the vast audience stood with bared heads, and the unfurling of the huge American flag, 25x30 feet, which was made during the Spanish War, the eight inch stars of which are of silk manufactured in Economy.

Dr. J. H. Bauseman, the noted Beaver county historian gave the invocation.

Hon. Geo. A. Baldwin, president judge of Beaver county, gave the address. He said:

I want to express appreciation on behalf of the people of Beaver Valley to the members of the Harmony Society Historical Association to whose labors we are indebted for the preservation of this historical monument. Our children's children will be enabled to admire the homely virtues and enterprises of those who launched one of the greatest community, socialistic enterprises in the world.

One hundred and fifteen years ago the Harmonites came here from Germany. They have left their impress on the history of Pennsylvania, its customs and the lives of its people. They came in order to escape religious persecution and the influences that followed the Thirty Years' War.

Taxation was bearing down the masses and religion was at a low ebb. They longed for something deeper and for higher ideals. They came to America largely for the same reason that the Pilgrim Fathers came here—to be insured the freedom to worship God.

We owe a debt of gratitude for those who worked to preserve this monument for posterity. If I were preaching a sermon, I would choose for my theme, "American Extravagance," the greatest sin of this country. I would contrast it to the frugality, the simple life and high ideals of those who lived here 100 years ago. We can draw many profitable lessons from the lives of these pioneers which were well lived, and the deeds that were unselfishly done.

At the close of Judge Baldwin's address, the rain drove the audience to St. John's Church where the program continued with an address by Wm. H. Stevenson, chairman of the State Historical Commission.

He lauded the virtues of the members of the society but building a lesson on their failure. He said:

There are some people here in this free America of ours still to be found advocating communistic ideas which they claim to be founded on a pure democracy. These are ignorant of the foundations upon which our fathers laid the structure of this republic. They came here to attain the greatest individual liberty and to secure the greatest and purest democracy the world has even seen. We propose to adhere to the principles upon which the government was founded and draw from this memorial here today a lesson that communistic government has never succeeded here and never will.

Gilbert A. Hays, president of the Harmony Society Historical Association also spoke telling of the aims of the society.

One thousand numbered copies of "The March of Time" were sold at $1 each, to raise funds for the work of the association.—*The Ambridge Citizen*, June 28, 1921.

THE PITTSBURGH BLUES

By

CAPTAIN JOHN H. NIEBAUM

(Continued from the July, 1921 number)

PART III

PENTLAND'S NOTES OF SERVICE

Extract from Charles Pentland's Journal, whilst performing a twelve months service as a member of the Pittsburgh Blues.

Sept. 10, 1812, Encamped on Grant's Hill.

Sunday, 20th—Decamped under orders to join the northwestern army; marched one mile over the Allegheny river.

21st—Marched to the Ohio; waited for boats.

23rd—Embarged on a boat; arrived at Beaver the 24th.

25th—At Steubenville.

26th—At Wheeling, remained till the evening of the 27th.

Oct. 1st—Arrived at Marietta.

6th—At Gallipolis, remained till the 8th.

Sunday, 11th—Capt. Alexander's boat struck a snag and was abandoned.

12th—Arrived at Limestone (Maysville.)

13th—At night, landed about two miles above Cincinnati.

14th—Marched into Cincinnati, encamped below the town, and remained till the 28th; then marched five miles to 'Hutchinson's.'

29th—Marched twelve miles to Price's.

30th—To Lebanon.

31st—To Waynesville.

Nov. 1st—To Xenia.

2nd—To Yellow Springs.

3rd—To Springfield.

4th—To Markle's

5th—Marched eleven miles, near Darby.

6th—To Franklintown, the Headquarters of the northwestern army, and remained till November 25th; this day marched two miles on a secret expedition

26th—Marched fifteen miles, over Darby Creek.

27th—Marched twenty-one miles.
28th—To Springfield.
29th—Near to Xenia.
30th—Into Xenia, and remained till December 5th; then marched into Dayton, and remained till the 9th; then crossed the Miami River.
Dec. 10th—Marched to New Lexington.
12th—Marched seventeen miles. The object of the expedition was promulgated.
Sunday, 13th—To Greenville, and crossed the river.
14th—Marched fifteen miles into the wilderness.
15th—Twenty miles.
16th—Marched all day, and after supper continued the march till daylight.
17th—Marched into the Indian town, on the Mississineway River, fifteen miles above the junction with the Wabash; captured a few defenseless Indians; and encamped in the village.
18th—The battle of the Mississineway was fought. The the company lost one man; John Francis, killed; Elliott, Dodd, Read and Chess wounded. Total loss of the detachment, viz: eight killed and from twenty-five to thirty wounded. Decamped and returned two miles.
19th—Marched ten miles on our return to the settlements.
Sunday, 20th—Marched twelve miles.
21st—Fifteen.
22nd—This day met a reinforcement with a small supply of provisions.
23rd—Marched to within twelve miles of Greenville, and met another detachment with more supplies.
24th—To Greenville.
25th—Remained till noon, and marched seven miles.
26th—To New Lexington.
27—To Dayton, and remained till January 4th, 1813; this day marched ten miles.
Jan. 5th, 1813—To Springfield.
6th—To Markle's.
7th—To Darby.
8th—To Franklintown, and remained till the third of February; then crossed the river to Columbus.

4th—To Worthington.
5th—To Delaware; N. M. Matthews joined the company.
6th—Seven miles.
Sunday, 7th—To Scioto Block House.
8th—To Upper Sandusky, and joined the command of Colonel Campbell.
9th—Nine miles.
10th—Marched as usual, but were detained the greater part of the day by a false alarm; made four miles.
11th—To the Artillery Block House.
12th—To within one mile of Hulls' road.
13th—Four miles and the road almost impassable.
Sunday, 14th—Remained, prepared sleds, cars and procured forage.
15th—Road improved by severe frost, and reached Block House swamp.
16th—To within four miles of Camp Meigs, and encamped on the bluff of Miami river.
18th—Into Camp Meigs Headquarters, situated at the Miami Rapids.
March 5th—Marched to Presque Isle, eighteen miles, to reinforce a detachment sent to burn the Queen Charlotte, one of the enemy's vessels, supposed to be frozen up, and met the detachment, returned, having been unsuccessful; returned ten miles to Swan Creek.
6th—Returned to camp.
April 26th—Seige of Fort Meigs, commenced by the enemy, who were employed in erecting batteries till the first of May, when they commenced cannonading, which they continued till the 5th, when a reinforcement, consisting of United States volunteers, arrived under the command of General Greene, and we were ordered out to cover their entry into the garrison, which was effected with some loss to the Kentucky troops.
The same day the United States volunteers, and several other companies of the 17th and 18th Regiments made a general sortie, under command of Colonel John Miller, which resulted in the capture of about forty-two of the enemy,

and the routing of their Indian allies, with a considerable loss of American troops in killed and wounded. The Pittsburgh Blues had two killed, James Newman and Mr. Richardson; five wounded, Willock, Ross, Williams, Dobbins and Wahrendorff. The attack was made on the enemy's battery, on the opposite side of the river, at the same time by General Clay's Kentucky militia, commanded by Captain Dudley, which terminated in a complete routing and capturing of that detachment, and death of the commanding officer. The enemy was quiet and on the tenth the seige was declared to be raised.

May 11th—Major Ball's squadron moved off, and General Harrison left for the settlement.

June 20th—Received information of an intended attack by the arrival of a Kentuckian and Canadian from the enemy's quarters. Expresses were despatched and preparations made for the reception of the enemy. Shortly afterwards Colonel Johnson's regiment of Kentucky mounted men arrived, and immediately thereafter General Harrison arrived with a detachment of the 24th infantry, commanded by Colonel Anderson, and preparations for the defence of the fort were continued. General Harrison left the camp again; Generals Greene and Clay in command.

July 18—Captain Butler returned to the company (having been absent to improve his health).

July 21st—The picket guard was attacked by the Indians, and several men were killed and captured. Lieutenant _____ arrived in camp from Portage River Block House with nine men, pursued on his way by the Indians.

22nd—The enemy quiet.

23rd—An express arrived; the camp was alarmed by the firing of small arms, being a strategem of the Indians (representing the fighting of two bodies of men at a distance, and approaching the garrison), which was intended to draw out a portion of the American troops in the fort.

26th and 27th—All quiet.

28th—The enemy descended the river.
30th—A reconnoitering party was detached, who reported that the enemy had retired, and the seige raised.
August 18th—The Pittsburgh Blues received orders to march to Camp Seneca.
20th—Marched to Portage river.
21st—To Camp Seneca.
28th—To Fort Stevenson at Lower Sandusky.
30th—Marched for Cleveland, and arrived at Vermillion River.
September 1st—Arrived at Cleveland.
3rd—Started for Beaver, arrived on the 7th, stayed the 8th.
9th—Marched to Davis' tavern, four miles from Pittsburgh.
10th—Arrived at Pittsburgh. Having completed a twelve months' tour, were discharged.

General Harrison in general orders dated "Headquarters, Seneca Town, Aug. 28, 1813," added the following:

"The Pittsburgh Blues, commanded by Captain Butler, and those of Greensburg, by Lieutenant Drum, of Major Alexander's battalion, having performed their services, the General hereby presents them an Honorable discharge.

"The General has ever considered this corps as the first in the Northwestern Army. Equal in point of bravery and subordination, it excelled in every other of those attainments which form complete and efficient soldiers. In battle, in camp, and on the march, their conduct has done honor to themselves and their country."

August 30th the Blues started on their march home by way of Cleveland, arriving there on September 1st. They reached Beaver on the 7th of Sept. and remained there until the 8th, reaching Davis' Tavern, four miles from Pittsburgh, on the 9th.

This gentlemanly and well organized body of soldiers, whose valor was fully and satisfactorily attested on the battlefields of Meigs and Mississineway, received the earnest commendations of the commander-in-chief. They were the first military organization in the county of Allegheny, were composed of the best material, and made up of members of the best families in the city and county.

On Friday, Sept. 10, the Blues returned home. They were hailed with unusual demonstrations of joy and re-

spect by the citizens of Pittsburgh.

When crossing the Allegheny River they were saluted by a discharge of artillery from Fort Fayette, and on landing were received by the troops of the garrison and escorted to the public square. The number of citizens assembled to welcome them was immense.

On Sept. 13 a dinner was given by the citizens of Pittsburgh, expressive of their joy and satisfaction over the return of the Blues to their families and friends. Immediately before the company sat down to dinner Henry Baldwin, Esquire, addressed them in a very animated and handsome manner.

On Sept. 9 Lieut. Drum's Greensburg Rifles passed through Pittsburgh on their march homeward.

A public dinner was given in Greensburg to Capt. Markle, of the Westmoreland Troop, on his return Jan. 22, 1813. Among the toasts were those given to Capt. Butler and the Pittsburgh Blues—"An honor to their country." Captain Alexander and the Greensburg Volunteers—"They have done their duty;" Captain Markle and his Westmoreland Troop—"They have distinguished themselves."

The Northwestern country having been conquered by General Harrison, followed by Commodore Perry's victory on Lake Erie, attention was drawn to the war activities about Chesapeake Bay. A second company of Pittsburgh Blues (sometimes called The Pittsburgh Light Infantry) was formed in 1814 with James Irwin as captain. He had served as lieutenant in the Pittsburgh Blues under Captain Butler in the Northwestern Army campaign. They started on Sunday, Nov. 20, 1814, the march to Baltimore and were well on the road when they were recalled by order of the Governor. They were met by messenger at Somerset, Pa. The company consisted of upwards of 70 young Pittsburghers.. They volunteered their services to the government. The Capital at Washington was destroyed by the British on August 24, 1814.

A Treaty of Peace was signed at Ghent Dec. 24, 1814, and ratified by U. S. Senate Feb. 17, 1815.

From the *Pittsburgh Mercury* May 2, 1815—"The Pittsburgh Blues, lately commanded by Capt. Jas. Irwin, will parade on Monday, the 8th day of May next, at 9 o'clock, on

the commons, near the Chapel, for the purpose of being mustered and inspected and receiving their pay. By order of the Captain, Charles F. Bracken, Orderly Sergeant."

On Sept. 1, 1817, Captain Irwin ordered out his company at 3 P. M. on the commons near the Chapel for drill in complete uniform.

Sept. 5th, 1817, President Monroe spent one week in Pittsburgh. He was escorted by Captin Irwin's Light Infantry Company. Captain Irwin died January 8, 1818.

General Harrison attended a splendid dinner given in his honor by the citizens of Petersburg, Va., on the 19th of March, 1817. To the toast of "Fort Meigs, a Watch Tower in the Wilderness, Defended by Valiant Spirits, Second Only to Their Gallant Commander." General Harrison responded and wound up his address by the following: "To the commander the merit of the defence of Fort Meigs must be greatly lessened when it is recollected that the lines were defended by troops from Ohio and Kentucky and the troops composed of the Pittsburgh Blues, Greensburg Rifles and Petersburg Volunteers."

The Fourth of July, 1817, was celebrated by the Pittsburgh Blues, Captain Neville Morgan—(Captain Morgan was a partner of Jno. I. Scull, publisher of the *Gazette*)—the Pittsburgh Fencibles, Captain J. Hall, and the Washington Guards, Captain E. Ensell, by a joint parade. The Fencibles embarked on a boat, and at a banquet toasted, among others, "Captain James R. Butler, the Hero of Mississineway." The Blues held their dinner on the bank of the Monongahela River. After Dr. Joel Lewis had read the Declaration of Independence, Captain Jas. R. Butler delivered a well-composed, appropriate and neat address, which was received with unbounded applause. Among the toasts given were: By Lieutenant Elijah Trevillo, "The Memory of Jas. Irwin, late captain of the Pittsburgh Blues." By Corporal Pratt, "Captain Matthew Magee, of the U. S. Army; whilst his Training is Acknowledged in the Field, may his Pre-eminence as a Tactician be duly Appreciated." By the Hon. Henry Baldwin, "Captain James R. Butler."

The 4th July, 1819—Celebrated by parade of City Blues, Captain Morgan Neville. At dawn salute 13 rounds were fired from Grant's Hill. At 10 A. M. they were joined

by the City Fencibles, Captain Hall and the Washington Guards of Birmingham, Captain E. Ensell. The Companies marched through Pittsburgh streets, changing front occasionally and separated for their respective places selected for dinner. The Blues heard Dr. Joel Lewis read the Declaration of Independence. Toasts were given by Lieut. E. Trovillo, "The memory of the late Captain Irwin." By Corporal Pratt —"Captain Magee of the U. S. Army."

On November 1, 1819, the stockholders and workmen, together with a number of citizens, assembled on the New Allegheny Bridge to celebrate its completion. Among the invited guests were the Pittsburgh Blues. A dinner was served on tables several hundred feet long. The toasts were answered by the Pittsburgh Blues with volleys.

Commander Barney, of the U. S. Navy, died in Pittsburgh December 1, 1819, and was buried with military and masonic honors. Attending were regular troops from the U. S. Arsenal and the City Guards, under Captain Trovillo, formerly First Sergeant of the Pittsburgh Blues. Commodore Barney commanded the Seaman Marines at the defense of Washington and was made a prisoner by the British. He entered the Naval Service in 1775 and served during the whole of the Revolutionary War. He was born in Baltimore in 1759.

During the year 1820 the uniformed militia companies in Pittsburgh were formed into a battalion and called the "Pittsburgh Volunteer Battalion." Their first parade was made September 12, 1821, under the command of Major Anderson.

About the time the Jackson Independent Blues were organized, in part from the membership of the Pittsburgh Blues, and was recognized as a twin company, the title "Independent Blues" being the name brought back from the 1812-13 service, by reason of their having served in the so-called Independent Battalion, commanded by Major Alexander of Greensburg, Pa., in the Army of General Harrison.

Washington's birthday was celebrated February 22nd, 1821, by a parade of the Pittsburgh Volunteer Battalion.

On May 15th, 1822, the same battalion paraded and acted as escort to the city officials, clergy, faculty and students of the Western University of Pennsylvania and at-

tended the installation at the First Presbyterian Church, of the Rev. Robert Bruce as Principal of the University. The Jackson Blues were a part of the battalion.

Independence Day, July 4th, 1822, was celebrated as usual in Pittsburgh. The Jackson Independent Blues held a banquet at Sawmill Run. Captain Savory presided. Lieutenant Denny read the Declaration of Independence.

May 23, 1823—Major Nathaniel Patterson, then Brigade Inspector, ordered an election between the hours of 10 A. M. and 6 P. M. for a successor to Captain Savory of the Jackson Independent Blues, who had resigned. Lieutenant Denny was elected Captain.

Anniversary of Jackson's Victory at New Orleans was celebrated January 8th, 1824, with much enthusiasm. At 9:30 A. M. the companies of the first battalion of Pittsburgh Volunteers assembled under arms. The City Blues, Captain Beard, the City Guards, Captain Trovillo, and the Jackson Independent Blues, Captain Denny, formed together and marched to Grant's Hill where a salute was fired in honor of the day. After performing a number of evolutions they were joined by the Pittsburgh Greens, Captain Biddle, and all proceeded to the First Presbyterian Church. Prayer was offered by Rev. Herron. Music by the Allegheny Musical Society and an eloquent address was delivered by Algernon Sidney T. Mountain, Esq. The Jackson Blues, accompanied by a number of citizens and led by the Union Band, proceeded to Col. Ramsey's Hotel and partook of a banquet. The room was handsomely decorated. Washington's portrait was placed at the head of the table and Jackson's at the foot. About 200 gentlemen sat down to dinner. After the cloth was removed, Capt. Denny in the chair, assisted by Capt. Trovillo, toasts were drunk, accompanied by appropriate music. Among the toasts was one to the Jackson Independent Blues.

In 1825 General Lafayette and family visited Pittsburgh. He was given the freedom of the city and held a reception for the Revolutionary Veterans. He paid a visit to the arsenal and various manufacturing establishments. The school children visited the General and family. A public dinner and grand ball were a part of the entertainment. On the morning of the third day after his arrival

Lafayette departed for Erie, being escorted out of town by the Light Dragoons and a battalion of Pittsburgh Volunteers, among them being the Independent Blues.

The 50th Anniversary of American Independence was generally celebrated in Pittsburgh on July 4, 1826, and the usual salute was fired. The Pittsburgh Light Artillery Company, under the command of Capt. Jas. R. Butler, celebrated on the Allegheny side of the river. The company and invited guests partook of an elegant dinner, prepared by Mr. E. G. Nelson and served up in his gardens in very handsome style. Capt. Butler acted as President of the day, Col. Wm. Wilkins, Vice President, Geo. Darsie and Ed. D. Gazzam, Secretaries. After dinner toasts were drunk, including the following: By Lieut. Hanson—"The Old Pittsburgh Blues. May their patriotism and valor descend to their children." By Capt. Jas. R. Butler—"The memory of Major Mathew Magee." By Capt. E. F. Pratt—"The memory of our late fellow citizen and soldier, Sergeant James Newman."

Military meeting of the "Pittsburgh Volunteers Legion" held July 5, 1826, at the house of Geo. Beale. Capt. Jas. R. Butler called to the chair, Lt. A. S. T. Mountain, Sec. Resolutions adopted to invite the respective Volunteers Corps of Washington, Green, Westmoreland, Fayette, Armstrong, Butler, Beaver and Allegheny Counties to join in a parade in Pittsburgh at a date to be arranged later. Committee on invitation—Messrs. Butler, Burke and Mountain.

Thos. Jefferson and Jno. Adams' death on July 4th was the cause of a meeting in their honor by the citizens of Pittsburgh on July 25th, 1826, to demonstrate their regard for the memories of these distinguished men. The national Flag waved at half mast on Grant's Hill, guarded by a detachment of Pittsburgh Volunteer Legion and Revolutionary soldiers. Capt. Butler's Company of Light Artillery fired 13 minute guns at daybreak, noon and evening, and one gun every half hour during the day.

A general parade was made the occasion on August 23, 1826, of a camp on the Allegheny Commons. Three companies from Westmoreland, three companies from Washington County and one other, Capt. Alexander's Westmoreland Artillery also attended, besides the Pittsburgh Volunteer Legion, composed of a battalion of Pittsburgh Com-

panies. They were reviewed by Maj. Gen. Markle, commander of the 15th Division of Pennsylvania Militia. The camp lasted three days.

A grand military parade was held in Washington, Pa., on June 20th and 21st, 1827. Nineteen Companies attended from several counties. From Allegheny County, the Pittsburgh Legion, consisting of the Pittsburgh Light Dragoons, Pittsburgh Light Artillery, Jackson Independent Blues, City Blues, City Guards and City Greens attended. In all, upwards of 1,000 men were present. Harmony and good order prevailed, no accident to mar the pleasure of the visit.

Pittsburgh celebrated Jackson's Victory on January 8th, 1828, by a banquet. Among the toast was one by Maj. Trovillo. "The Memory of Sergeant James Newman of the Pittsburgh Blues, Who Fell in the Late War."

From *The Pittsburgh Mercury*, April 22, 1828:

(Advertisement.)

CAMPING ORDERS.

The Jackson Independent Blues will parade on Friday, May 2, 1828, at five o'clock precisely, completely armed and equipped, provided with knapsacks, blankets and rations for one day, three rounds of cartridges will be furnished each man on the ground.

By order,

J. J. CARPENTER,

April 22, 1828. Orderly Sergeant.

On Oct. 26th, 1829, Major E. Trovillo ordered an election to be held by the Jackson Independent Blues for one captain, vice-Savory resigned, and one first and one second lieutenant, vice J. Huey and J. J. Carpenter, resigned. The hours of election were from 10 A. M. to 6 P. M.

1830 Major Trovilla was elected colonel of the First Battalion of Pittsburgh Volunteers.

During the month of February, 1830, Captain James R. Butler resigned as captain of the Pittsburgh Light Artillery.

At a special meeting of the old Pittsburgh Blues (Veterans) held Oct. 29th, 1833, it was resolved: That as a mark of respect to the memory of our late friend and fellow

soldier, Charles Pentland, late of Pittsburgh, the members wear crepe on the left arm for 30 days.

E. TROVILLO, Secretary. JAMES R. BUTLER, Chairman.

During the Mexican War, 1846-1848, there were two companies of Blues in the service, that of Captain Alex. Hays, of the Jackson Independant Blues, and that of Captain Thomas A. Rowley's Company H, Volunteers, all from Pittsburgh. Rowley had been in Mexico as a lieutenant in the Blues. After a year's service he was sent home to recruit the second company, and became captain of the same.

Some of the men of these two companies of Mexican War Service organized on January 8, 1855, as a twin company to the Blues, and called it the Pittsburgh Washington Infantry, who in the Civil War recruited to a regiment called the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Infantry in the three months service, and re-enlisting as a regiment were called the One Hundred and Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers.

After the Civil war they reorganized the Washington Infantry as a single company. Rowley, who became a Major General in active service, was again made captain. In the world war the Washington Infantry men had to enlist individually, having 120 men in service.

This organization still continues as an active independent Company and is recognized as the successor of the Pittsburgh Light Infantry Company, which was in existence as a uniformed and equipped company in 1794, and from which sprang the Pittsburgh Blues, who served in the war of 1812, and were in turn succeeded by the Jackson Independent Blues in the Mexican War.

(To be continued)

NOTES AND QUERIES

Entries in the Account Book of Casper Reel, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1774-1802

(Continued from the April, 1921, number)

Jan.21 1775
Fredrick Ferry By John Muntur Dr
For a Beef Barrel ---------- 0-1-6

Jan. 21 1775
John Campbell Esq Dr
To making & mending 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-3-6

Jan. 25 1775
Stock Dr. to Fredrick Ferry
To 5 5 yards of Oznabrigs @ ---------- 2/0-10-0 &
To 1 Almanack ---------- 0- 1-0 0-11-0

Jan. 30 1775
James Fourbush Dr
To Drefsing 10 Deer Skins ---------- 1-4-0

Feb. 6 1775
John Campbell Esqr By James Martain Dr
To Drefsing 1 Deer Skin 3/6
& making 1 pair Breeches ---------- -11-0
To 2 Set of Buttons ---------- - 3-6

Feb. 6 1775
Jacob Speers Dr
To Drefsing 1 Deer Skin ---------- 0-2-4

Feb. 8 1775
Stock Dr to John Smith
To Spenging 1 lb Thread ---------- 0-5-0

Feb. 9 1775
George Groghan Dr
To Drefsing 4 Deer Skins ---------- 0-10-6

Feb 9 1775
Mr. Rammege Dr
To Drefsing 2 Skins @5/ & making 1 pr Breeches ---------- 0-11-0
Stock Dr By Cash to Mr. Rammege ---------- 0-7-6

Feb. 11 1775
Stock Dr to Christopher Hays By Cash ---------- 0-7-6

Feb. 11 1775
Richard Carson Dr
To one pair Breeches ---------- 1-12-0
Stock Dr. to Richard Carson By Cash ---------- 0-7-6

Feb. 17 1775
William Flin Dr
To Linnen ---------- 0-6-0
To Fressing 2 Deer Skins 5/6 ---------- 0-5-6
To making one pair Breeches 6/0 ---------- 0-6-0
To 1 pair Breeches ---------- 1-10-0

Feb. 17 1775
Andrew Nangil By his Boy Christopher Dr
To making 1 pair Breeches 6/ & Thread /6 ---- 0-6-9

Feb. 20 1775
John Ferry By John Porter Dr
To Drefsing 1 Deer Skin ---- 0-2-6

Feb. 20, 1775
Abraham Slover Dr
To ½ Gallon Rum ---- 0-4-0

Feb. 27 1775
David Tait By young David Tait Dr
To one pair Breeches ---- 1-5-0
By John Hamilton for Dref & maken 1 pr Breeches ---- 0-14-0
Stock Dr By Cash to David Tait ---- 0-15-0

Feb. 27 1775
George Groghan By Powder Dr
To 1½ Bushel of Deers hair @ 1/3 ---- 0-1-10

March 6 1775
John Irwin By his Boy Dr
To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins ---- 0-4-0
To making 1 pair Breeches 7/6 & trimmins 4/ ---- 0-11-0

March 10 1775
George Redman Dr
To making one pair Breeches ---- 0-7-6
To Button 1/9 & Thread /6 ---- 0-2-3 ---- 0-9-9
Stock Dr to George Redman By Cash ---- 0-3-10

March 13 1775
John Sampson Dr
To Drefsing 3 Deer Skins ---- 0-6-0
To making one pair Breeches ---- 0-7-6
To trimmengs for the Breeches ---- 0-4-0

March 17 1775
Philip Witsell Dr
For 4½ Gallon Rum at 7/ ---- 1-13-6

March 17 1775
Andrew Nangill Dr
To mending one pair Breeches ---- 0-3-0

March 21 1775
John Sampson By Wm. Sampson Dr
To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins at 4/ & trimmengs 4/ ---- 0-8-4
To making 1 pair Breeches ---- 0-7-0

March 23 1775
Abraham Stover to 1 pint Rum Dr ---- 0-1-3

March 27 1775
Abraham Stover to 1 pint Rum Dr ---- 0-1-3
To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins ---- 0-5-0
To making 1 pr Breeches 7/6 & trimmens 4/ ---- 0-11-0
Stock Dr to Abraham Stover for ½ lb Thread ---- 0-4-0

March 27 1775
Fredrick Ferry Dr
To making 2 pair Breeches ---- 0-15-0

To a Set of Buttons ---------- 0-1-7
Received 7 Deer Skins in 4 pair Breeches and
1 Deer Skin on mat.

March 27 1775
John Smith at Racoon Near Stover Dr
To 1 pint Rum ---------- 0-1-3

March 29 1775
James Forbush Dr To drefsing 4 Deer Skins out of Ten 9/
Stock Dr to James forbush By Cash ---------- 0-5-0
Dr to By 2 Bush Crib Corn at 5/ ---------- 0-10-0

April 1 1775
James Forbush Dr
To Drefsing 6 Deer Skins at 2/3 ---------- 0-13-0

April 1 1775
John Campbell Esqr Dr
To 1 quart Rum 3/ & 1 gemlet /6 ---------- 0-3-6

April 3 1775
Andrew Robinson Taylor By Wm Drumen Dr
To Drefsing 2 Skins at 3/6 & making 1 pr Breeches at 7/6
& Thread /4 pair Apl 30 ---------- 0-11-4

April 6 1775
Stock Dr To John Campbell Esqr
To one Quier Paper at 3/6 & 1 pint Rum ---------- 0-5-0

April 13 1775
Stock Dr To George Groghan
for 94 lb Weight at 1/9 ---------- 8-4-6

April 15 1775
Stock Dr to John Campbell
To 2 Basons at 22/ & 4 plats at 12/ & 12 Needles at ½ ---- 1-15-0

April 15 1775
Stock Dr to Andrew Nangel
for mending my Shoes ---------- 0-1-0

April 15 1775
John Campbell Dr
To Drefsing 1 panter Skin ---------- 0-5-0

April 15 1775
Thomas Smallman Esqr Dr.
To 1 pair Breeches ---------- 1-5-0
Stock Dr to Thomas Smallman To 4 lb Sugar at 1/6 ---------- 0-6-0

April 18 1775
Capt Chambers By his Son Dr
To 1 pair Breeches ---------- 1-2-6
Stock Dr to Capt Chambers
for 3 Deer Skins Weight 9½ lb at ¼ ---------- 0-12-4

April 19 1775
Stock Dr To Frederick Ferry
for 1 fine Comb ---------- 0-2-0

April 24 1775
Stock Dr to David Tait
for 2½ ounces of Silk at 5/0
for 2 patt Locks

for Salt ---------- 0-12-0

May 15 1775
John Girty Dr
to Drefsing 2 Deer Skins 4/6
to trimmings 4/6 & making 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-16-0

May 19 1775
Stock Dr to John Campbell Esqr
To ½ yard Blue Cloth ---------- 0-7-6

May 20 1775
Wm Scenes Dr John Glafs Son in Law
To ½ Bushel hair ---------- 0-0-8

May 25 1775
John Campbell Esqr Dr By Jas Forbush
To Drefsing 1 Deer Skin ---------- 0-0-8

June 6 1775
James Elliott Dr
To washing & Mending 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-4-0

June 9 1775
Thomas Cuningham Dr
To mending one pair Breeches ---------- 0-7-6

June 10 1775
Stock Dr to Wm Rummege
for 4 lb Butter ---------- 0-4-0

June 12 1775
Simon Girty Dr
To washing 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-2-6

June 13 1775
Phillip Witsell Dr
To Drefsing 3 Deer Skins ---------- 0-9-6
to washing 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-2-6

June 13 1775
Stock Dr to Samuel Sampble
for 1 pint Wine ---------- 0-3-9

June 14 1775
William Barr Dr
To washing & mending 1 pr Breeches ---------- 0-7-6

June 23 1775
Stock Dr to John Campbell Esqr
By Cash paid to James Bogell ---------- 3-14-0

June 24 1775
Stock Dr to Abraham Gum
for souling 1 pair Shoes ---------- 0-1-6

July 1 1775
Stock Dr to John Smith for 1½ lb of
Thread 7/5 per lb ---------- 0-9-4½

July 8 1775
William Deal Dr
To washing & mending 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-4-0

July 10 1775
James Stones Dr to Drefsing 1 Deer &

making 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-9-0

July 24 1775
Stock Dr to Abraham Stover for
1 lb Tobacco ---------- 0-1-6

July 24 1775
Stock Dr to Andrew Nangel for
fixing 1 pair Shoes ---------- 0-2-0

July 31 1775
Lebat franch man Dr
for 4 Bushel of hair By his man John ---------- 0-5-0

August 9 1775
Stock Dr to David Tait for
½ Bushel of Salt & 11 quarts at /3 ---------- 0-17-4
for 3½ Gallon & 1 pint at 7/6 ---------- 3-4-8

August 10 1775
James Forbush Dr
To Drefsing 4 Deer Skins ---------- 0-7-0
Stock Dr to James Forbush
for making 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-8-0

August 16 1775
William Butler By Rob Stran Dr
To 1 Bushel of hair ---------- 0-1-3

August 16 1775
James Rofs Dr
To Drefsing 1 Deer Skin ---------- 0-3-0

September 11 1775
Stock Dr to Andrew Nagel
for Soling 1 pair Shoes ---------- 0-1-6

September 12 1775
School Master at fort Pitt Dr
for washing 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-2-6

September 16 1775
William Shaw Dr to Cash Lent ---------- 0-1-0

September 18 1775
James Girty Dr
To Drefsing 1 Deer Skin ---------- 0-3-0
To making 1 pair Breeches ---------- 0-10-0
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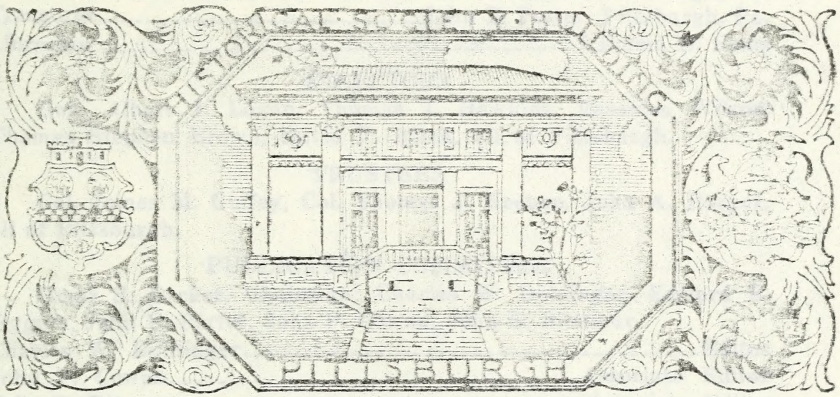

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

APRIL, 1921

VOLUME 4 NUMBER 2

WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA
HISTORICAL
MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
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WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

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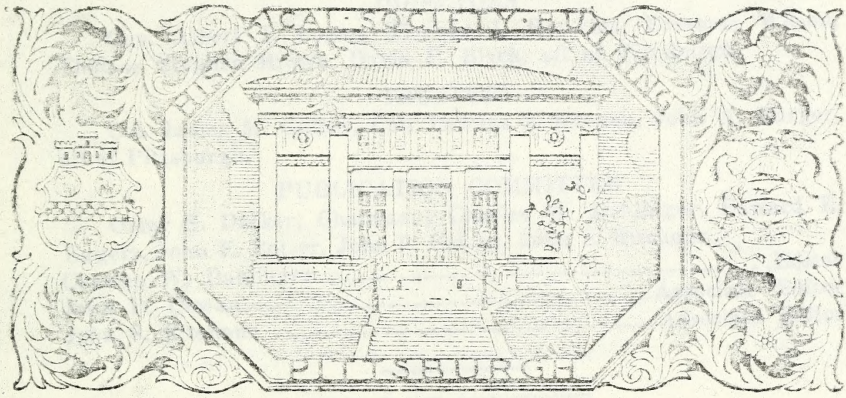

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

JULY, 1921

VOLUME 4 NUMBER 3

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
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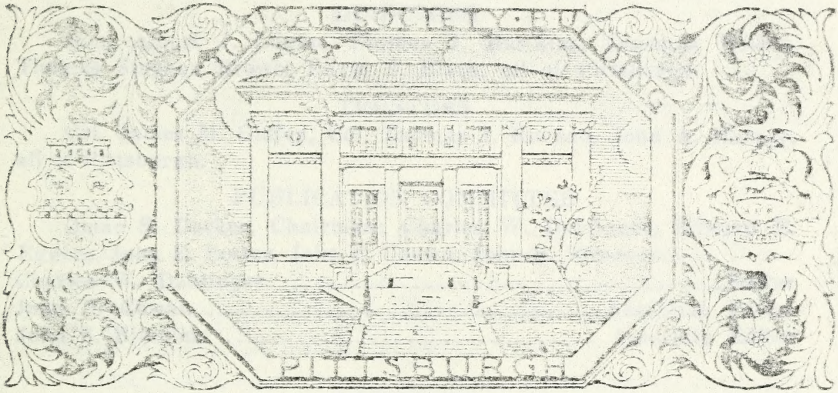

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

OCTOBER, 1921

VOLUME 4 NUMBER 4

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of Western Pennsylvania Historial Magazine published Quarterly at Pittsburgh, Pa. for April 1st, 1921. State of Pennsylvania County of Allegheny.

Before me, a Notary Pubiic in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared O. S. Decker, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposed and says that he is the Chairman, Publn. Committee of the Western Penna. Historical Magazine and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 448, Postal Laws and Regulations.

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 14th day of March, 1921.

(s) William A. Irwin

My commission expires Feb. 19th, 1923.

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The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania in its building at Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, maintains a Museum for the preservation of relics, pictures and documents associated with the history of Western Pennsylvania and adjoining territory. Hundreds of articles, many of which constitute a priceless talisman in the annals of the country about the Forks of the Ohio, have been donated to the Society and are treasured in the Museum for the education of posterity.

Constant additions are being made to these gifts and the Society especially desires that all persons interested in preserving relics and documents relating to the history of Western Pennsylvania take advantage of the opportunity for safeguarding them in the custodianship of this organization. Books and documents by Pennsylvania authors, and pictures, documents and articles that have belonged to eminent Pennsylvanians of the western counties of the State are solicited. Acknowledgment of donations and loans will be made in succeeding issues of the Historical Magazine.

Historical Hall is open for visitors each week day from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M., and on Sundays from 2 P. M. to 4 P. M. when access is had to the library and Museum.

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